

inside



"The past is a foreign country". Peter Scott considers the work of historian KEITH THOMAS, author of *Religion and the Decline of Magic* and *Man and the Natural World* (page 11)

Higher education teachers are conservative but not Conservative: official. The THES/NOP READERSHIP SURVEY reveals attitudes to tenure, the cuts, support, the UGC and the NAB. What does the future hold? (pages 12 and 13)

Putting the eagle back on the mountain-top: Leonard Bushkof describes the revival of America's CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY and its place in Ronald Reagan's second-term foreign policy (page 16)

ARTS PAGE: Marc Chagall's hymn to love. Waste at the Pit (page 17)



Lying Cretans and bald kings of France: A. J. Ayer reviews Olive Klimister's study of BERTRAND RUSSELL, a book that revives interest in Russell the mathematician and logician (page 18)

Home news 1-8

Letters to the editor 2

Don's Diary (Trevor Hopkins, Manchester) 4

Party Line (Jack Straw) 6

Union View (AUT) 8

Overseas news 9-10

Articles 11-16

Column (Ernest Boyer) 14

Arts 17

Books 18-22

Noticeboard 23

Classified 24-31

NEXT WEEK

Semiotics vs 'sign studies'. Political profile: Giles Radice. Newcastle fashion. Tessa Blackstone on the British Council.

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Cuts and conservatism

British academics are conservative but also anti-Conservative. If the picture that emerges from the survey of their opinions carried out by National Opinion Polls for *The Times* is an accurate guide (pages 12-13), they are strongly attached to traditional practice in the case of universities tenure, dual support research, and the present external examining regime; in the case of polytechnics and colleges external validation. They are sceptical of some recent proposals for reform, such as placing greater emphasis on continuing education, and opposed to others, such as a more selective research policy and Leverhulme-style two-year degrees.

If it comes to the crunch - and of course they hope it won't - they believe that some institutions should be closed rather than standards in the rest compromised still further by a policy of "equal misery". They believe that if the cuts continue staffing standards, the talismanic "unit of resource", should be protected even if students have to be turned away. They believe that even if there is a demographic slump in the 1990s, entry standards should be maintained despite the obvious threat posed to course, departmental and even institutional viability. The picture therefore is of a profession more determined than ever to defend the traditional qualities - in both senses of that word - of higher education however hostile the external environment has or may become.

The anti-conservatism of academics is as plain as their conservatism. Less than one in five would now vote Conservative - although to nail an often repeated error polytechnic teachers are more likely to be Conservative than their university colleagues. Even among supposedly conservative scientists Conservative support only stands at 21 per cent. The Conservative interest in higher education seems to have collapsed. Except in the polytechnics and in arts and social science the vacuum has been filled by the Alliance, which has almost established itself as the "house party" of higher education. The reason is not difficult to find. An absolute majority of academics believes that recent cuts have had a serious effect on standards of teaching and research; barely one in ten believes they have had little or no effect.

The interpretation of this contrast between conservatism and anti-conservatism of course is more difficult. Some people may be prepared to leave it as a kind of whimsical paradox. Others may say that it is just one aspect of a paradoxical correlation that seems to sweep through education; primary school teachers who are seen as having the most open and progressive attitudes to professional practice are most likely to be conservative in their poli-

tical allegiance, while teachers in further and higher education are least flexible and modern in their professional attitudes and most radical in their external policies.

But there is probably more than can and should be said. One argument that must be addressed is that hard times stimulate fresh thinking and that a crisis in traditional relationships leads to creative change. To a large degree the Government is depending on this in its present higher education policy. It is hoping that the shock of the cuts will convince people in universities, polytechnics and colleges that the good old Robbins days will not return after an interval of austerity and that the present system of higher education must be radically reshaped.

Up to a point, Lord Copper. The evidence makes change easier but that it inhibits innovation. In more relaxed times when the choices between old and new, traditional and radical, seem gentler people are more open-minded and generous. When times are hard they form a defensive ring round what really matters to them, the core, the essence, the quality of higher education. They look with hostility and suspicion on new ideas and new practices. That at any rate seems a reasonable interpretation of the paradoxical contrast between the conservatism and the anti-conservatism of the academic profession, both characteristics which seem to have intensified since 1979.

Another comfortable assumption about British society also looks more questionable in the light of this survey. This is that in Britain, unlike our less fortunate European neighbours, higher education has never been the home of an oppositional intelligentsia disaffected from the ruling order and so subversive of it; on the contrary the relationship between higher education and elite has not been antagonistic but symbiotic. This remarkable solidarity between powerful ideas and powerful people has often been regarded as an important ingredient of our national genius.

Of course to suggest that all this has changed would be a wild exaggeration. The main complaint of the academic profession is that the present Government has undermined its status and institutions. Except in parts of social science, and more recently smaller parts of humanities, there has been no clear divorce between political and academic values. Many people in higher education are entirely happy to serve the utilitarian high-tech values to which the present Government is particularly attached but which all post-war Governments have encouraged.

But it is difficult not to feel distant shudders as the ground slowly

shifts. Clearly higher education will never again enjoy the cosy relationship with the State which Oxford and Cambridge enjoyed for centuries and which in the twentieth century was stretched to embrace most of the other universities. It is still not clear what new relationship will replace the old. But if in years to come a more aggressive opposition develops between higher education and the established political order the first half of the 19th will probably be seen as a decisive episode in this transition.

This change is not yet inevitable. If higher education is given extra resources by a future non-Tory Government this may not only check the growth of an oppositional ethos in universities, polytechnics and colleges (an ethos which incidentally is almost certain to be fed down into the schools) but also make room for fresh thinking and creative change. Of course no future Government - right, left or centre - is going to write higher education a blank cheque. But the grim correlation between conservatism and cuts revealed by this survey may suggest that there is something in Labour's idea of a new concordat between Government and higher education - more money and more continuing education and the rest.

Another ground for optimism is simply that we live in out-of-balance political times. In periods of pessimism it is all too easy to accept that we are locked onto some awful neo-conservative trajectory - the rise of taxpayer revolt, the decline of public altruism, the supra-morality of the market and all the rest. Yet the accident of politics should not be confused with seachanges in public opinion. Electoral "landslides" are not the same as earthquakes in public attitudes; only the metaphors have a confusing similarity.

All the evidence is that despite its reiterated obituaries Butskellism, social democracy in its catholic postwar sense, is alive and well. A survey of social attitudes conducted by Social and Community Planning Research (SCPR) in 1983, published at book length last year, and summarized in last week's *Social Trends* (HMSO £19.95) found that 8 per cent of voters supported tax cuts and cuts in health, education and social benefits while 86 per cent believed that taxes and services should remain at the same level or that both should be increased. Far from representing some irresistible offensive that led to the postwar social democracy the events of the last five years seem in this light a political aberration unsupported by any real changes in social attitudes. With good luck the seeds of oppositionalism and conservatism planted in higher education by these aberrant years may never be allowed to germinate.

Art's middle way?

In both the university and the non-university sector the hardest rationalization cuts to be made are to be found in London - two sets of highly distinctive institutions, small, tight, arguably inefficient and academically inclined, fiercely proud of their separate traditions and, exceptionally, highly regarded in their respective professions. The awkward squad and the jewel in the crown at the same time. These institutions are London University's medical schools and the Inner London Education Authority's art colleges. Packed by such institutions would be rationalizers have to tread carefully. They have to balance the vitality of separate traditions against the efficiency of intellectual disadvantages. Any solution they propose must be simply an attempt to have one's cake and eat it too, by trying to obtain the benefits of wider association while maintaining the institutional traditions capable of producing such quality. In the 1970s the university established the Bowers Committee on medical education. The committee was set up in response to a report by the Bowers Committee on medical education. The committee was set up in response to a report by the Bowers Committee on medical education.

fair balance between these competing imperatives. Now the IEA has produced a plan for its art and associated colleges with a similar purpose in mind. The authority's proposal is to federate six colleges into a college of art institute. The new institute would have a director and its own academic board, each college would maintain its separate identity. Yet despite its modesty the proposal has already been criticized. Opponents argue that it would create a top-heavy institution that would swamp the (very small) art colleges like St Martin's and Chelsea. In art, as in other large institutions, it is as much difficult to talk down the IEA plan.

This would be a mistake for two reasons. First, spreading probably has to be done about London's art colleges. There are difficulties in the way of smaller colleges being absorbed by a larger one, and these difficulties are not only economic but also cultural. The IEA plan, by its very nature, is to create a new institution, not to absorb existing ones. For the National Advisory Body, and

behind the NAB the Department of Education and Science, the London art colleges are an anachronistic set of institutions. The IEA plan seems a fair compromise between these conflicting pressures. There is no need at all why the proposed institute's central administration should become a heavy bureaucratic presence.

The second reason is more interesting. It is that the London experiment offers art education a third option, a middle way between incorporation in a polytechnic or college of higher education which has been the fate of so many art colleges and precarious independence as a free-standing art college, the mouth and Canterbury now find themselves. Now it is simply a question of institutional survival or even competition. For incorporation in a polytechnic in most cases has stimulated a movement towards industrial values in art, while precarious independence inclines colleges towards an aesthetic inwardness. So in terms of values as well as of institutions, London art institute could offer a happy middle way, as a middle way.



Fifth Column

By a coincidence I was not Harold Macmillan's War Diaries other day while my wife was watching *Much Ado About Nothing* on television. That suggests that alone was watching it but at the time to time and was - not listening to the director of a production listening to two things at the time.

What made it more difficult that the War Diaries are not compulsory reading. But the *Much Ado* was compulsive. The settings were jolly and active, the choice of a huge staircase appropriate for Macmillan, and the dialogue highly interpreted to sound more affected than many Shakespeare productions.

The problem was that at first the case for the Macmillan Diaries. I kept getting confused between the two. I thought Macmillan was talking about Leonardo, but actually meant Eisenhower, seems to have been a thorough chap. De Gaulle rather less so. Macmillan was frightened to be thought highly of by the Frenchman. But even so, got more confused and standstill got worse and that it was difficult to know it was all wit or tragedy, got more funny and

Sometimes they were charitable, usually on the "inevitable" Randolph - for example, "Randolph in Sicily with a job, means to have got a place and come back for a suppose". But what got me was reading this piece. "Called on Giraud. The things were not going very well that he had everything told me that Giraud had resigned. I expressed surprise, because I thought he had accepted it. 'Oh yes,' he said, 'that is unimportant. No, refused it.' (I found myself Alice, repeating to myself unimportant, refused, accepted, refused, unimportant.)

That was all very well, I thought, but as I was reading sentence, Dogberry was on television screen. They had omitted false reports, they have spoken untruths, they are slanders, and they have belied a lady, they have verified unjust things, they have concluded, they are lying liars. I decided to put the Diaries and concentrate on the mapping minutes on the plot. I could most easily understand it came back next day, their plot recognized that their plot had had similar problems. But I have spent the greater part of time having the most enormous cheery with distinguished names and political people such as was at war. But what kept me level was his regular reading of Boswell on Johnson, Jane Austen, Tolstoy. Fancy reading *Prigidity and Doctor Thorne* side with De Gaulle.

Perhaps that was what kept going. In the midst of this sometimes tedious but never fantastic story, Macmillan has behaved with good sense and competence. It is astonishing to become prime minister.

Patrick Nutter

The Times Higher Education Supplement

January 25, 1985 No 638 Price 60p

by Karen Gold and Peter Aspiden

The National Advisory Body this week decided to go ahead with a highly selective distribution of its new £2.5m research fund for polytechnics and colleges - but progress towards an equally selective research policy in universities is making painfully slow progress.

On Tuesday the NAB board chose its first eleven in science and technology and last Friday the general purposes committee of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals had its first toe-in-the-water discussion of the University Grants Committee's plans for selective research. Some committee members in the words of one vice-chancellor, "have yet to make contact with the ball."

The board considered two options for allocating the fund held back from the 1985/86 advanced further education pool: one was to spread the money thinly over 36 institutions; the other to give it to only 21. It voted by 15 to seven for the latter option, a decision which the NAB committee of local authority members may find politically unacceptable next month.

The 11 polytechnics to receive £150,000 a year for three years set as an institutional ceiling by the board are Central London, Coventry (Lanchester), Hatfield, Kingston, Leicester, Liverpool, Newcastle, Plymouth, Portsmouth, South Bank and Trent.

Four institutions getting £100,000 a year each are Brighton, Manchester and Sheffield City

NAB 'first eleven' leaves UGC trailing

polytechnics, and the Camborne School of Mines. Six institutions getting £75,000 each are Bristol, City of London, Lancashire, Teesside, Thames and Wolverhampton polytechnics.

The thinner spread of money was rejected on the grounds that the small amounts would not be much use, and that funding should go to centres of proven excellence. Speakers at the board emphasized that the criteria for choosing institutions was their research record and potential in science and technology. In future years criteria might be extended.

The lists were drawn up by a working group of NAB officers with advisers from the Science and Engineering Research Council, the Natural Environment Research Council, the Council for National Academic Awards and HM Inspectorate. Institutions had been asked to submit research proposals totalling no more than £150,000. In fact bids ranged from £19,539 to £937,576.

The total value of projects submitted was £14m, of which the selection group found £4.5m worth were alpha rated proposals from 36 institutions. Some of these may be funded: the

board was undecided over whether the money should be allocated on a financial or academic year basis.

The UGC has now established the third and final working party on selective funding, on clinical and veterinary sciences, and it was to meet for the first time today under chairman Professor Colin Doherty of the Royal Postgraduate Medical School, London.

The two already formed are on natural sciences and technology, chaired by Professor Brian Gowenlock, professor of chemistry at Heriot-Watt, and on the humanities, chaired by Professor Peter Bromley, professor of law at Manchester University.

The vice chancellors are represented on all the working parties and met last week to discuss their approach. The crucial considerations are how much money should be distributed separately and selectively by the UGC after providing a research floor for all universities; and what criteria should guide the distribution.

The UGC wants to tell universities by May how to draw up bids for the selective research money. The UGC needs detailed information to fit a

formula but the vice chancellors think too much detail equals an attack on autonomy. London for example, has let it be known it will only consider one research plan for all its schools.

At the meeting some vice chancellors thought that, as a starting point, one per cent of recurrent grant should be apportioned selectively for research. Some were concerned that the new policy might threaten the university contribution of the dual support system. Others wanted a more dramatic selectivity. One contentious point was the difficulty of measuring present levels of research funding.

The UGC has finalised the names of the eminent scientists who will decide how the extra money for equipment grant in centres of excellence will be allocated. The Government has provided £4m in the first year and then £14m over two years. Grants will vary from £250,000 to £500,000.

The scientists are: Sir Andrew Huxley, president of the Royal Society, Sir John Atwell, president of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Professor John Cadogan, chairman of the science board of the SERC, Professor Roger Elliott, physical secretary of the Royal Society, Professor A. J. Forty, professor of physics at Warwick University.

Sir Peter Swinerton-Dyer, chairman of the UGC, Sir James Gowans, secretary of the MRC, Professor G. R. Higginson, professor of engineering at Durham University, Professor I. G. Morris, professor of microbiology at University College, Aberystwyth, Sir George Porter, director of the Royal Institution, Mr Derek Roberts, director of research at OEC and Professor David Smith, biological secretary of the Royal Society.

Leader, back page

Efficiency stressed in White Paper

The Government expects continued efficiency in higher education and has confirmed that it is examining ways of measuring performance, according to the White Paper on public spending published this week.

This year's Green Paper on higher education will give a full account of the work being done on performance indicators but one way of measuring higher education's contribution to the economy is the social rate of return, or investment in human capital.

Thus the White Paper estimates that in recent years the return on investment up to first degree level has been between 5 and 8 per cent.

The universities will need to pursue a measure of economies to maintain standards within the cash available and they will be helped in this by the Jarratt efficiency inquiries. The staff-student ratio is about 1:1 and further tightening is to be expected.

In the maintained sector there is a slight increase in 1985/86 spending to provide for a more students and a shift towards science and engineering. The plans imply falls in unit costs and a reduction of 2,500 lecturers to lead to an SSR of 12:1 in 1985/86.

The universities' current grant will be £1,371m in 1985/86 (£1,339m in 1984/85), £1,410m in 1986/87 and £1,440m in 1987/88. Capital grant will increase by £7m to £134m in 1985/86 and then stay at £140m for the next two years.

For polytechnics, and colleges' advanced work, the current grant will go from £630m in 1985/86 to £660m in 1986/87. After that figures are not separated. The non-advanced grant for the same years is £268m and £285m respectively.

The White Paper confirms the planned savings in student awards and small increases for science announced at the end of last year.

The Agricultural and Food Research Council is likely to lose £10m a year by 1987 as a result of cuts in the Ministry of Agriculture's research budget announced in the White Paper.

If the cuts go through, they will mean further redundancies at the institute close in the AFRC on top of those already in hand to meet reductions in the council's money from the Department of Education and Science.

More than half the AFRC's £100m a year income is from research commissioned by the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Foods. But the MAF's continued on page 3



Peter Abell on rewriting Clause 4, 13

Institute directors unite to oppose NERC plan

by Jon Turney

Science Correspondent. The Natural Environment Research Council faced united opposition from its institute directors when it met yesterday to discuss its draft corporate plan. Eleven directors of component institutes and the three directors of grant-aided institutes have written to council members detailing their objections to the stronger central management proposed in the plan.

The corporate plan, likely to be published next month, calls for a reduction of NERC staff from 3,130 to 2,230 by 1990, and creation of three new scientific divisions in its Swindon headquarters. The new divisions, in terrestrial and freshwater sciences, earth sciences and marine sciences, will be led by powerful new directors, who will control research programmes in NERC institutes.

The directors of component institutes object to this shift, and their letter says the three new directors should not be based full-time in Swindon. They also argue that the rate of job loss proposed "will cause a serious loss of morale, and of a high proportion of our best scientists, who provide the real intellectual capital of NERC".

These points are supported by the three remaining directors, of the Freshwater, Scottish Marine and UK Marine Biological Associations who

sent a separate letter to express their concern about the new management structure and its links with their own scientific councils.

The depth of dissent evoked by the corporate plan as it stands was also shown this week by a call from a former council member, Professor John Sutton of Imperial College, London, for the plan to be frozen while an independent inquiry is mounted into how the NERC does its job. Professor Sutton and other senior geologists are especially concerned about the future of the British Geological Survey, the largest NERC institute, which they believe should be funded from outside the research council system.

Professor Sutton was speaking at the opening of an exhibition to mark the Geological Survey's one hundred and fiftieth anniversary, at the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh. He said the thrust of the corporate plan was quite wrong, and the council needed strong directors in each institute.

The present plan envisages staff cuts freeing funds for more work in universities, with direct university support rising from £11m to £12.5m by 1987/88 and then to £16.5m by 1990. It says most of this new university money would be spent on directed or special topic programmes, rather than on meeting unsolicited grant applications.

Leader, back page

Sour grapes at Quirks bar

Time has been called for Quirks, the University of London Union bar named after retiring vice chancellor Sir Randolph Quirk. Students, furious that the bar should perpetuate someone who had presided over the restructuring of the university have insisted that it should be renamed Mergers.

The initiative came from students at colleges involved in mergers including Bedford, Royal Holloway, Westfield, and the Kings, Chelsea and Queen Elizabeth complex.

UGC sounds warning on academic freedom

by Ngalo Crequer

The Government must do nothing to undermine academic freedom in its proposals to limit tenure for university lecturers, the University Grants Committee says in advice published this week. "The Government's proposed statutory commissioners, who will frame the legislation, should be expressly required to consider the safeguards and it may be that special machinery is necessary."

The UGC says the only way to limit tenure and maintain academic freedom is follow American practice, where dismissal is possible if "good cause" (gross misbehaviour) is proved

or if redundancy is necessary for either of two reasons: financial changes require shedding of staff faster than natural wastage rates; or a university wants to drop a subject area.

The UGC says it is obliged to offer its views on tenure because protecting the universities from undue political intervention is the reason for its existence. It calls for more workable machinery for dismissal for "good cause" and says that the case for compulsory redundancies should be established, in each instance, by independent financial inquiry. There should be criteria agreed by vice chancellors and the Association of University Teachers on who should be

selected. The UGC says there should be considerable public debate before the statutory commission decides how to redraft individual university statutes. It would wish to comment later.

Ms Diana Warwick, general secretary of the AUT, said she was pleased UGC had re-emphasised the importance of academic freedom although noted they had gone no further in saying how it could be protected. She said she had made this point at a meeting this week with Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Education and Science and he had said he would seek to ensure adequate safeguards. Details, page 5.

DON'S DIARY

BOGOTA, COLOMBIA

6.45am. I am outside an "INEM" one of 20 government supported schools (as opposed to private), that were set up some 15 years ago to teach not only the traditional *bachillerato* but also vocational courses. The secondary school for 11 to 18-year-olds is situated in one of the poorer areas of the city on a large purpose-built campus. There are two "shifts", morning and afternoon with a total of 6,300 pupils on roll.

The caretaker doesn't want to let me enter the school as none of the teachers have arrived yet, but eventually, after some persuasion, I am allowed in. The school has two-story blocks, pleasantly arranged around areas where there are shrubs, and concrete benches where the children can congregate. I make my way to the mathematics block where there are about 16 classrooms, the mathematics department staffroom, 6.55am. Two massive double doors at the back of the school are opened and the pupils come pouring in. A few mathematics teachers arrive but none of them has a key for the departmental staffroom.

7.00am. The bell rings for the start of the first lesson, yet there seem to be hundreds of pupils ambling around. The maths staff have now obtained a key for the staffroom, are collecting their books and most of them are putting on their white lab coats. Jaime has been teaching mathematics in the school for 12 years and so I am assigned to tag along with him. 7.10am. I accompany Jaime upstairs to observe his class. The internal classroom walls are unfinished, red breeze blocks about eight feet high. The flat roof is supported at the edges of the building and there is a three feet gap between the roof and where the ceiling should be. Some of the classrooms have a partial ceiling of corrugated sheeting which does nothing to dampen the noise level. Open plan classrooms take on a different meaning.

The class is a fourth year, industrial section, of 30 pupils of whom five are girls. Algebra is the theme for this term. The school charges a very small monthly fee but because most of the pupils are from poor backgrounds the cost of £8, five times the monthly fee, for the standard algebra textbook means that very few pupils can afford it. However, the book can be used in three years of schooling and it has a good secondhand value as the syllabus doesn't tend to change much.

Jaime is going over the difficult bits of the homework factorizing expressions such as:

$$1-64a^2b^2 - 16ab + 49c^2 - 25d^2 - 9e^2 + 30f^2$$

The pupils are very keen to discuss their results with one another and relaxed in going to the blackboard to show their own solutions. There seems to be the challenge of who can find the "right" answer and "wrong" approaches are not pursued, but it is so different from what might happen in a classroom in Britain.

7.00am. End of the lesson, a gradual exit, no mad rush for the door. 7.45am. The timetable says the lesson should start now, but, understandably, because of the large campus the lesson doesn't get under way until 7.50am.

A third year class of 37 pupils of whom five are girls. "Geometry" this time, for those who can afford it, the standard text is a thick book with OHP type pages scattered between the boring looking text. It was written by a Cuban now living in the United States, first edition 1965, and is typical of the era. The pupils are given the problem: "Two spheres of radius 3 cm and 4 cm are made into a cylinder 4 cm high. What is the radius of the cylinder?"

Surprisingly one or two pupils have calculators, but Jaime, like his colleagues, frowns on their use. When

the pupils give their attempts on the board the arithmetic gets in the way. For example they have to work out $159.1 + 3.14$ and also the $\sqrt{50.6}$ longhand to which the result of 7.4 is accepted. There is no discussion of approximation or estimation, but then again is this so different from practice elsewhere?

8.30am. Another third year class. Although it is a mathematics lesson and they are following the same mathematics syllabus as other third year classes, this group of pupils has been brought together because they have decided to have a vocational taster of *practitioner social*, social studies. Of the 37 pupils nine are boys Jaime comments that this class is not as good as the previous one and so are further behind in the syllabus. They are finding the surface area and volume of spheres.

9.06am. The lesson ends and, much to my relief, Jaime is "free" the last lesson before break. Bogota is over 8,000 feet up in the mountains and two hours of sitting in a cold classroom have done various bits of me. The school started some 15 years ago as an experimental school heavily funded by the government. The school has continued to have an excellent reputation and the government is still highly influential in its running. All staff appointments are made by the Ministry of Education, the school having very little say in the matter. Most of the staff are experienced and committed, promotion up the pay scale having been achieved through being well qualified, experienced and attending courses each summer. There are 4 runs on the pay ladder and, on average, the 36 mathematics teachers are on the tenth or eleventh rung. This entitles them to a monthly salary of about £400, which is not too large an amount when one considers that the cost of living is similar to London, and that this is a salary for the "cream" of the profession.

Jaime has six children so he works at the school from 7 until 12.30, goes home to look after things while his wife works and then teaches at night school from 6 to 10pm. This lifestyle is not uncommon as many of the teachers have two jobs - teaching, driving a taxi etc. This is the major reason why there is a turnover of the mathematics department for the last three years. 9.49am. Break, 30 minutes long and the only one in the morning session. Stirring bullfighting music floats out from the main quadrangle, but there aren't any bulls, just fifty fifth-form girls practising for some future public performance. They are dressed in pink boots and wave a pink and white disc in the air in time to the music as they march up and down.

10.20am. Just enough time for a quick tour of the campus. Everything seems very orderly with lots of teaching going on in the classrooms. The engineering workshop has a fair number of lathes etc but neither the school nor the pupils can afford the cost of the material to be worked. The playing fields have three surfaced areas: one for football, one with 10 basketball courts, and one where some girls are running in groups to one end and back again. 11.02am. Lines has kindly agreed to let me see her sixth-year maths specialists - 35 pupils, three girls. They are finding the areas under curves of the type $y = \sin x$ and $y = 1 - x^2$. Presumably, an experienced teacher, thinks that about 30 of the class are capable of pursuing a university career, but many of them will not go as they cannot afford the fees and the cost of maintenance. The National University does not charge fees but has been closed for some time and is always having "problems".

12.30pm. End of the morning session. The sun is shining, I have warmed up, and I am left with a feeling of a relaxed, hard working, very friendly school. I decide not to use the front teachers and visitors only entrance but to use the shorter back way. I am caught up in 3,000 pupils leaving and 3,000 pupils entering through the two large gateways. My feet tend not to touch the ground and I am reminded that the football season in England must be well under way.

Rod Clarkson

The author is lecturer in mathematics education at Chelsea College.

Training climate 'is wrong'

by Olga Wojtas
Scottish Correspondent

The Youth Training Scheme in Scotland has been relatively successful in its first year, but the Government is guilty of negligence in its approach to training.

This is the view of the Scottish Council, Development and Industry, an independent body representing both sides of industry.

The council, following a study on YTS in Scotland which it commissioned from Dundee University economists lecturers Mr Michael Toozie and Dr Paul Chapman, has said sustained support is vital if the potential of the YTS is to be realized.

There is disturbing evidence of a long-term decline in the provision of training opportunities for young people in all sectors of the Scottish economy and without a more supportive economic policy, the YTS is of limited value, it says.

The council stresses that employers and trade unions have a crucial role to play in training, and that it does not pretend the Government's role should be to "throw money at the problem".

But it claims the climate for training in the United Kingdom is wrong. There is a consensus that a much enhanced effort in education and training is needed to strengthen the economy and improve jobs prospects, but the political will to translate this into action is missing.

There should be legislation or financial incentives for employers to provide training opportunities, and there is a desperate need for detailed information on the labour market, enabling both employers and young people to make "rational decisions" about training.

The Government's non-interventionist stance, while it may be justifiable at some point in the future, is inappropriate in current circumstances.

The report also recommends that employers should make sure that courses fit employers' needs and that employers should consider other ways of providing training, such as on-the-job training, and that employers should encourage members to give training leave.

The report also recommends that employers should offer cash incentives to employees for updating and retraining, although the committee has deplored the idea of a "transfer fee" to discourage companies from poaching one another's newly trained employees.

The group found the study of the skills of the workforce to be a high priority, and that the skills of the workforce should be a high priority, and that the skills of the workforce should be a high priority.

Overall, the committee found that the skills of the workforce should be a high priority, and that the skills of the workforce should be a high priority.

Mr Butcher's second report on skills shortages in information technology, published today, says everyone should try harder to increase the supply of trained technicians and support staff.

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Butcher urges increase in trained IT staff

by Jon Turney
Science Correspondent

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Birmingham to do local government review

Birmingham University has been commissioned to carry out a major review of local government in Britain by the national local government association.

The university's Institute of Local Government will look at the future role and organization of authorities, and produce a series of discussion papers for the Association of County Councils, the Association of Metropolitan Authorities and the Association of District Councils.

The papers will outline various policy options available to the Government for the restructuring of local government, which will be used by the

three associations in the national debate on the issue.

The project coordinator, Dr Royston Greenwood, a senior lecturer at the institute, said the aim of the review was to clarify the issues in the local government debate, so that different criteria can be more easily evaluated.

"There have been many changes in the last few years, during which time local authorities have been representing their interests to the Government and there is a need to take stock of the general direction in which local government is heading," he said.

Dr Greenwood said there were a

series of different criteria by which to evaluate local government, which the institute's review aims to spell out.

"There is, for instance, the question of whether efficiency is always consistent with greater democracy and autonomy in authorities, and what type of arrangements are more beneficial for the effective management of the economy. Obviously, the policy choices are not our responsibility, but we can clarify the issues."

The first phase of the project is expected to be completed by September, and will look at a comparative study of western systems of government.

Unfilled library post worries Aston union

by David Jobbins

Aston University has been without a permanent qualified chief librarian for six months and it seems likely that no appointment will be made before the summer.

The issue was raised at last week's annual meeting of AUT library staff by delegates from Birmingham University. The meeting unanimously carried a motion expressing concern at the delay in appointing a permanent chief librarian and calling for the post to be filled by a professionally qualified librarian. But anxiety among library staff that the university would consider appointing someone without professional qualifications has been partly allayed by the arrival of Mr Douglas Foskett, formerly London University's librarian and one of the top librarians in the country, who was appointed in January after three months as interim librarian.

was controlled by a professor of modern languages. Staff were also anxious that although the post was advertised in the summer, there was little sign of a move towards finding a permanent librarian.

The Association of University Teachers lodged a complaint with the union, and a permanent appointment was made. One member of the library staff commented: "The situation is more satisfactory than it was before Chris ran."

The AUT views the problems in the library as an example of the AUT style of management. Last year, the library was criticized by Sheffield Centre for Research on User Studies for failing to meet the needs of undergraduates or academics.

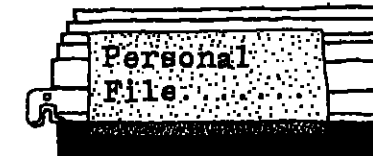


One of the boys in the backroom

by Karen Gold

When the Inner London Education Authority included two such (academic) household names as Clive Jenkins and Professor Ralf Dahrendorf in the inquiry into the Polytechnic of North London, it was hardly surprising that as people reached the end of the list to find the name Lincoln Crawford, barrister, they should ask "Who?"

But Mr Crawford (above), who is appointed adviser and counsel to the inquiry headed by Newham College Cambridge principal Miss Sheila Browne, has done the backroom job before.



In 1981 he was appointed counsel to the Scarman inquiry into the Brixton riots. The job as he outlines it was an influential one: "You worked through the evidence, you looked at it with Lord Scarman, you decide what matters perhaps should be excluded, who should be called, the order in which witnesses should be called. What matters perhaps should be held in camera and what publicly," he recalls.

It was also a courtroom job, representing Lord Scarman in cross-examining witnesses. That, and the decisions whether to have public or in camera hearings, are unlikely to arise this time: Miss Browne does not expect to hold public hearings although she does hope most evidence submitted to her will be published, at least in part.

But otherwise Mr Crawford expects to play a similar part: he will influence the timescale, he will also advise on legal matters, which will be crucial given the frequency of High Court hearings that the polytechnic and its National Front philosophy student Mr Patrick Harrington have attended in the last year.

Mr Crawford also brings educational expertise: a commissioner of the Commission for Racial Equality, he belongs to the CRE education committee. He also chairs a Department of Education and Science working party looking at the acceptability among the ethnic minority communities of ethnic monitoring in schools.

Born in Trinidad and now 38, he was educated mainly in Britain; he read law at Brunel University before becoming what he describes as a "general practitioner" barrister.

Student union legislation 'under active review'

Ministers may consider introducing legislation to make membership of university and college unions voluntary.

Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for education, and other ministers have so far conspicuously resisted demands from within the Conservative Party for a move towards voluntary membership and have drawn distinctions between industrial trade unions and student unionism.

But there are signs that the continuing pressure from some sections of the party arising from outrage at the tendency of some student unions to support left-wing causes - sometimes in breach of the Attorney General's guidelines on *ultra vires* - may be forcing a change of mind.

In the Commons this week, Mr Peter Biddis, under-secretary for higher education, took a distinctly more positive line in response to a

Academic freedom 'must be protected'

by Ngaio Crequer

The University Grants Committee says in its advice to the government on tenure that special protection for controversial and unpopular opinions is as necessary now as it was in the past. But this does not justify absolute protection of all posts in all circumstances. Academics must be free to select what they teach, with the constraints of the syllabus. But academic freedom

must never be used to justify misrepresentation of other scholars' views or to excuse out-of-date material, according to the UGC.

As for research, academics sometimes run out of steam, but they should not be able to be dismissed simply because they have lost the capacity to do original work, providing their teaching and scholarship is still of an acceptable standard.

The UGC says the legal position in universities for removal of staff for

"good cause" (moral misbehaviour or bringing the university into disrepute) is often unclear. If academic freedom is to be protected, statutes must expressly say staff can only be dismissed for good cause or redundancy.

It would not be acceptable to replace tenure with rolling or renewable fixed term contracts, as this could be used to get rid of unpopular lecturers.

The only way to limit tenure and safeguard academic freedom is to follow the American practice, where

dismissal is only possible if there is a change in financial circumstances requiring the shedding of staff, or if a university wants to drop out of a particular subject area. The UGC urges the Government's proposed statutory commission to investigate American practice.

Who should determine that redundancy is necessary, asks the UGC. There should be an independent financial inquiry, the *prima facie* case having been made by the university council. A proposal to drop a subject area should be decided by both the council and the senate.

What should be the machinery for determining who should go? "Last in, first out" would be a nonsense, says the UGC. "The criteria should be agreed by unions and management, embodied in statutes and settled well in advance of actual redundancies. There should also be nationally agreed compensation."

Dismissal for good cause might include misconduct such as gross plagiarism, deliberate faking of research results, leaking of exam papers, assault, reckless disregard of safety practices and some criminal offences.

But the machinery is difficult to use. The UGC accepts "half" the argument that this is a good thing, because otherwise the threat of dismissal would inhibit academic freedom. But it says careful drafting of statutes would be sufficient protection.

It says the definition of good cause should be the same in all universities and staff should be able to be fairly dismissed as defined by modern employment legislation. The machinery for dismissal, or lesser penalties (such as attendance on a training course), should be simplified.

The UGC also warns of the effects on academic mobility of promotion within a university (so existing staff would keep tenure) and to a different university (risking the loss of tenure).



"Learn from Comrade Lin Feng" reads the writing on this Chinese poster, part of the exhibition of contemporary Chinese art which opened last week at the University of Leeds gallery. Lin Feng, now a political folk hero, was a Chinese peasant who joined the army and Communist Party and kept a diary showing how he had served the Chinese people.

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Astronomers to produce review

by Jon Turney
Science Correspondent

The astronomy community is getting together to produce a new review of the priorities for British astronomy in the 1990s. The review, backed by the Royal Astronomical Society and the Royal Society, will be the first of its kind in Britain, and is intended to help plan expenditure beyond the normal five-year planning period of the research councils.

The astronomers also want to make sure their subject comes out well in the Science and Engineering Research Council's long-term strategy review, which gets under way this year. They fear the council's astronomy, space and radio board will not put up a strong enough case to protect the area in the face of the pressures on SERC from the falling pound and the decline in the science budget.

The form of the review has been following discussions between the British National Committee for Astronomy - a committee of the Royal Society - and the RAS. The Royal Astronomical Society will produce the review, and then look at the result in a wider context.

The RAS has not yet agreed membership or terms of reference for the review, which will take around a year. But the main issues are already clear. The review will take in all extra-

terrestrial science, including satellite and ground-based astronomy, solar system studies and planetary science. It is likely to include discussion of the balance between ground and space-based observation, and the potential role of collaborations with Europe, Japan and the US.

A further major concern will be development of remote observation, where techniques developed for controlling satellites from the ground are adapted for control of overseas telescopes from the UK. For example, the British Infrared Telescope on Hawaii can be controlled from the Royal Observatory, Edinburgh, saving the cost of flying astronomers to the site. As many astronomical images are now displayed electronically rather than photographically, the scope for remote links is increasing.

A key issue in development of remote observation will be the future of the SERC's two British observatories, at Greenwich and Edinburgh. A recent council review decided to maintain both establishments for the time being, and current work on remote control is split between them. But if distance observation becomes the norm, the argument for losing one or both sites will be reopened. The council could even decide to focus all its remote astronomical work on the Rutherford laboratory in Oxfordshire, if it has to shed other work as a result of the strategy review.

Asbestos discovery hits polytechnic

by Karen Gold

Environmental health officers this week completely sealed off Wolverhampton Polytechnic's art and design building and all its contents, following the discovery of brown asbestos on every floor.

No one is being allowed to enter the seven-floor building, and everything in it may have to be decontaminated before it can be removed. Decontamination may not be possible for porous materials such as canvas, fabric, paper and soft clay, meaning that some students' work may be permanently lost.

The asbestos was discovered after part of a studio ceiling in the 1970 building collapsed. Local authority health and safety officers found brown asbestos in the ceiling tiles, and further tests found that 90 per cent of

the tiles were unsafe.

Arrangements are being made for the 450 students who use the building to work elsewhere and it is expected to remain closed for several months. The asbestos will be removed by specialist firms; removal, decontamination and rebuilding may cost around £200,000.

Readings of fibre levels in the building had been taken and were low, according to polytechnic director Mr George Seabrooke who said medical advice was being sought to find out if staff and students who had used the building might be affected.

Wolverhampton students union are to issue a questionnaire to students asking if they feel they need screening. The students' union would wait for medical reports before deciding whether to ask for screening of all past and present students, said president

Mr Ian Bell.

Decisions on whether work could be continued would probably be made after the next three weeks. "It would have to be a catastrophic effect on students' careers," he said.

The Council for National Awards has already been told the situation, and the polytechnic is in contact with external examiners. Mr Seabrooke said: "It's certainly our aim to enable students to complete their courses without loss of time. We'll be letting external examiners know the particular difficulties under which these students have been working."

It was difficult to know if asbestos had been medically affected by the asbestos, he said. "The potential for asbestos is enormous, but I can see no evidence of it so far in the state of students' most affected."

Aid agency promised £72,000

Long-term Government funding for independent overseas student agency was announced by the Department of Education and Science last week. The London-based UK Council for Overseas Student Affairs has been promised up to £72,000 for 1985, almost half its predicted income for other sources.

If UKCOSA draws on the £72,000 amount made available, it will state funding the largest single source of income but its officials are convinced that the organization's independence in the eyes of students and organizations and students using its counselling services will not be jeopardized.

The announcement by Mr R. Brooke, under secretary for higher education, was greeted with a note of knowledge from the Department that it had a responsibility to encourage overseas students to study in the UK.

Mr Gail Taylor, UKCOSA's executive secretary, said: "This is a vote of confidence from the Government in a vote of confidence in overseas students. It is a moral and political statement - we have been trying to convince the DfES that overseas students should be seen as part of overall educational planning."

"The fact they are willing to fund to an organization like UKCOSA suggests they recognize the importance of overseas students and have a responsibility to them."

The availability of the money will enable UKCOSA to develop its services and offer an improved service to subscribers and individual students. There are constraints on the way which it can be spent. Capital expenditure is ruled out, and UKCOSA must specify its use for the development of educational services, research, and provision of educational services of an advisory or organizational nature.

Much of UKCOSA's activities are to advice to individual students, information to institutions and bodies working with overseas students, and development of educational methods.

Mr Taylor said Government would not harm UKCOSA's independence but would make it more effective.

Locomotivation

Strathclyde University business school is to run management training courses for more than 1,500 British Rail workers and supervisors in Scotland.

Professor calls for BBC inquiry

Professor Alan Thompson, professor of the economics of government at Heriot-Watt University, and a former governor of the BBC, has called for an independent inquiry into BBC advertising.

Professor Thompson, speaking to Press Papers Ltd of Scandinavia in Edinburgh, said advertising should not be introduced into the BBC without full consideration of the economic effects of such an innovation on independent television and on the national and provincial press.

He forecast that major decisions would be taken during the coming year on the BBC's future which could have fundamental effects on the economic basis of the media industry.

"Any inquiry should go beyond the immediate financial needs of the BBC and examine the long term implications of subjecting the BBC to market forces," he said.

Professor Thompson added that an independent committee of inquiry could consider alternative forms of funding for the BBC such as the introduction of licences for car radios.

More Scots staying on

The number of Scottish school leavers increased again in 1982/83, by 2,400 to 91,000 and, for the second year running, more than half had stayed on beyond their statutory leaving date.

These figures appear in the latest Scottish Education Department statistical bulletin on school leavers. It shows that over the past decade, the proportion of leavers over school leaving age at first fell to 38 per cent and then rose to 52 per cent.

Over the same period, the proportion of leavers obtaining higher or the top three bands in O grade has risen from 57 per cent to 65 per cent, while the proportion of those gaining no school certificate fell from 44 per cent to 35 per cent.

In 1982/83, three quarters of the 29,600 who gained higher held a pass in English, with just under half holding a pass in a science subject, and slightly fewer holding a pass in maths.

Of those leaving with O grades as their highest qualification, over half had an award in mathematics, and just under half an award in English.

Research to help redundant women

Mr Alan McGregor, of Glasgow University's department of social and economic research is to conduct a two-year research project on women in the Glasgow conurbation who have been made redundant.

Mr McGregor has been awarded £50,340 from the Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust, and hopes to make policy suggestions which will help women become reemployed.

The key interest of Mr McGregor's research is the effect of where a woman lives on her chances of finding work. The project will also consider other issues including local care and nursery provision. Its importance lies in the significance of women's earnings for family income levels. One of the most important factors on poverty in Britain is the absence of a second earner in the household.

Rush at Magee

The numbers of students enrolling at Magee College in Londonderry last week surpassed all expectations. Both the psychology and sociology part-time programmes attracted a total of 330 applicants, implying that Magee would have 1,000 students in three years. The broad humanities degree recruited 70 students - compared to 150 taking a similar part-time course at Queen's, Belfast a city four times its size.

The students' enthusiasm has rubbed off on lecturers at the other University of Ulster campuses, many of whom have volunteered to fill in for

Crown or court to hear claim?

by Peter Aspdren

The proper forum for a university lecturer's appeal against an unfair dismissal should be a court of law, not before the university Visitor, it was claimed in the High Court last week.

Mr Stephen Sedley QC, acting for Miss Brenda Thomas against the University of Bradford, said even if part of her claim against dismissal dealt with the interpretation of the university statutes, it did not put her entire case under the jurisdiction of the Visitor.

"It is much more a question of whether any part of Miss Thomas's claim is justifiable in law, which would put it outside the Visitor's jurisdiction," he said. "If that is the case, then the appeal should be heard in a court of law, it should not be a purely internal matter."

Mr Sedley was contesting an attempt by Mr Hubert Picarda, acting for Bradford University, to stay proceedings of her appeal against unfair dismissal.

Mr Picarda said Miss Thomas had been a sociology lecturer at Bradford since October 1973 and was appealing against her alleged dismissal in February 1983.

He said Miss Thomas's claim dealt with a breach of procedural steps and a breach of natural justice, both of which should be dealt by the university Visitor - in Bradford's case, the Crown.

"In a case where what is being complained of is a series of breaches of procedural steps under the statutes, that is an internal matter which is determined by the Visitor, who is the sole construer of the university's statutes and ordinances," he said.

"This is a question of very great importance to universities, which has never been decisively determined in this country - to what extent does the ambit of the visitor's exclusive jurisdiction include contracts made between the university and one of its members?"

He said the decision of Mr Justice Whitford would have wide repercussions for similar cases in the future. The judge said he would make his judgment in writing.

Woolas seeks second term as the president of NUS

by David Jobbins

The president of the National Union of Students, Mr Phil Woolas, is to seek a second term of office at its conference in Blackpool in March.

His nomination was overwhelmingly endorsed by the National Organization of Labour Students at the weekend, but two other prominent current members of the NUS executive will not be standing for reelection.

They are Mr Steve Morgan, NUS's vice president, welfare and Mr John Fallon, who joined the executive as a part-timer last Easter and was widely regarded as a future high flyer.

Neither sought nomination at the NOLS council.

Mr Morgan had decided some time ago not to seek a further year on the executive, while Mr Fallon was a casualty of NOLS's decision to nominate two women full-timers.

In all, NOLS is to nominate eight people for the executive, compared with the Left Alliance's four. On the assumption that NOLS retains the Scottish and Welsh presidencies, it will be seeking to command a working majority.

The Left Alliance has decided against a challenge to Mr Woolas, and instead is to throw its weight behind the fight to return Liberal Mr John

Murray as NUS treasurer and to dislodge one of the NOLS incumbents from the other full-time places.

NOLS will renominate this year's national secretary, Mr Jim Doran, and the vice president education, Ms Lesley Smith, although no decisions have yet been taken whether they will stand for the same posts for 1983/84. The fourth NOLS nominee for a full-time post is Ms Vickie Phillips.

The Left Alliance is to run Mr Andy Whyte, a member of the Labour Party, for vice president education. Another of its part-time candidates is Mr Paul Hassan, a member of the Communist Party, who will be seeking to replace Ms Kate Steele, who is to concentrate on her studies.

The elections at Easter is likely to be complicated by the decision of the Federation of Conservative Students to stand "a number" of official presidential candidates.

The PCS vice chairman Mr Mark Macgregor said the candidates would be running on a voluntary membership ticket. "We believe it makes a political point to stand several candidates," he said. "PCS believes quite strongly in disrupting NUS conference and taking somewhat less seriously than our opponents the importance of NUS elections."

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TUC pressed to help women

Lecturers' unions with members in the universities and the colleges are to bring pressure on the TUC to increase opportunities for education and training of women, especially in non-traditional and newly-developed areas.

Motions from the Association of University Teachers and the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education calling for a better deal for women have been tabled for debate at the Women's TUC in Southampton in March.

Women are still severely under-represented in many areas of skilled employment, according to the AUT. It wants the TUC general council to campaign for the continuation and expansion of Women into Science and Engineering year to encourage greater female participation at all levels including higher education.

Meanwhile Nafte's motion draws attention to the shrinkage of traditional female employment and the importance of education and training opportunities if women are to have a share in the jobs created by new

technology. It points to the increasing restrictions on opportunities for adult education, particularly for mature women and calls for an investigation by the TUC's women's advisory committee dealing especially with non-traditional areas.

Nafte calls for a commitment by the trade union movement to a "major expansion" of adult education with an emphasis on provision for women wishing to re-enter the workplace.

The TUC's commissioners on the Manpower Services Commission are requested to seek an urgent review of information technology courses and to take steps to ensure 50 per cent female participation.

On other issues, the AUT is to seek help for women workers on short-term contracts or working part time who are prevented from claiming paid maternity leave, with a survey of the numbers involved as a first step.

Nafte will seek TUC cooperation in persuading the Department of Education and Science that peace education has its place in Britain's

University status call by APT

by Karen Gold

Polytechnics and major colleges of higher education should be allowed to add the word "university" to their title, says the Association of Polytechnic Teachers.

The APT has written to Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Education and Science, asking him to amend institutions' instruments of government to allow them to do this.

"The impetus for the letter comes from moves at Portsmouth and Middlesex polytechnics, the association says.

Polytechnics and similar colleges will never be identified as degree awarding bodies on a par with universities unless they have "university" in their name, the letter argues.

Home students leaving the public sector suffer because employers think polytechnics are not as good as universities, while the name polytechnic is not understood abroad, it adds.

"Many lecturers in polytechnics have long resisted the arguments for using the name of university for fear that their institutions might simply seek to emulate the institutions of that name, giving up the distinctive role which polytechnics perform" the letter says. But it adds the transformation of Under Polytechnic into the University of Ulster without losing its identity improves this.

Even by 1976, 10 years after the last colleges of advanced technology were designated universities, some polytechnics were doing more degree work than the CATs, the letter adds.

The joint local authority education committee responsible for Middlesex Polytechnic will consider adding "university" to its name at a meeting tonight. The proposal originally came from Middlesex governors to the committee of representatives of Barnet, Enfield and Haringey. The JEC asked for academic opinion on the change, and will be told that the polytechnic's academic board voted last month for a change to Middlesex University.

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Rate-capping adds to PNL problem

The problems at the Polytechnic of North London continue for students and staff alike. The presence of Patrick Harrington, the leading National Front activist, remains a major obstacle for disruption. The court cases, police presence etc have cast a massive shadow over the day-to-day running of the poly and have cost huge amounts of money.

Some try to place the blame for all the problems on "disruptive left-wing elements", but a deal between the new directorate and the students has paved the way for some potential stability on this issue at least; although Harrington sends out press releases on his activities such as visiting the canteen for lunch. He does this surely only to ease his hunger for publicity and to anger students and staff, who are sickened and threatened by him.

The National Front is not the first group to attempt to disrupt and discredit PNL. The former PNL sociology lecturer, Caroline Cox, who stands to the right of the Conservative Party, and Sir Keith Joseph himself, are among figures who have commented on and probed PNL's standards amid allegations of "Marxist bias". The case of the sociology and applied social studies departments is an example of an HMI report, based on visits when few students were around just before exams, attempting to undermine the council for National Academic Awards' reappraisal of valuable and respected courses.

The disruption of the poly provoked by the Harrington affair has also had its effect on course applications, which are considerably down this year. This has nothing to do with standards or courses, but rather is a sad reflection of the turmoil and bad press coverage. There are also doubtless many potential students who are not prepared to attend the college.

The continuing controversy over Harrington simply goes hand in hand with the interests of these academics and establishment figures on the right who would like to cite declining applications as another reason for attacking the poly.

The NF's tactics may be more crude and blatantly destructive, but the underlying current of continued right-wing attack on the very existence of the poly is clear. PNL's positive encouragement of students from access courses, mature students and ethnic minorities, and its concern with the needs of the local community are aspects of the college that must be defended and expanded, especially its commitment to anti-racism, if it is to be a progressive institution that does not simply bow to the establishment and right-wing attacks.

The threat of rate-capping also now looms large for the poly. Again it comes under attack from the right. Students and staff face many far-reaching problems. The value of PNL to many potential students, especially those are not typical 18-year-old level entrants, is clear. These groups, in particular black, mature and women students, are already being viciously squeezed out of their right to education with this Government's increasing cuts.

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Karen Talbot

The author is a national executive member of the National Union of Students

Student 'was victimized'

Sussex University students are to discuss next week how to help a second year student they believe has been victimized after taking part in a demonstration.

The student was expelled after being found guilty of trying to prevent a meeting of the university buildings committee, which was discussing allocation of union accommodation and "materially assisting" in the disruption of a subsequent disciplinary hearing.

Up to 100 students picketed both the meeting and the disciplinary panel, and the union's officers support the student's view that she was unfairly singled out.

Vice president education Mr Martin Hussey said: "We recognize that the events concerned involve a large number of students and feel that one to be picked out is victimization."

The union is opposed to the university's decision to impose academic penalties for non-academic matters. The appeal from a student suspended for two terms was due to be heard yesterday.

Putting the miners' case

A group of academics at Dundee and St Andrews Universities is hoping to hold a conference next month on the miners' strike.

The main aim of the conference, according to a document sent to academics throughout Scotland by the ad hoc group, "would be to establish that there is an objective case to be made for the miners' cause which does not depend upon emotional attachment or loyalty, but upon scholarly and academic criteria".

This case has been largely ignored by the media, says the paper, and attempts to put it "have met with pressure, media manipulation, and downright attempts at discrediting and censorship".

Three academics have already agreed to speak at the conference: Professor John Eldridge of Glasgow University's sociology department, Mr Richard Kinney of Edinburgh University's law faculty, and Mr Richard Saville of St Andrews University's department of economic history.

Mr Saville is co-author with Mr George Kerevan, senior lecturer in economics at Edinburgh's Napier College, of *The Case For Scottish Coal*, a report presented at the beginning of this year to Scottish Labour MPs by the Scottish Area National Union of Miners.

The report accused the National Coal Board of pandering over a temporary downturn in the coal industry, and said the cuts would frustrate the industry taking advantage of the better commercial climate in the 1990s.

The paper suggests that the conference could examine the handling of the coal dispute from various disciplines, and produce practical proposals. "The dispute," it argues, has raised "major matters of principle".

Welsh students encouraged to become business wizards

A scheme to encourage graduates to start up their own businesses has been launched by St David's University College, Lampeter. The project, the first of its kind in Wales, aims to persuade second and third year students to consider starting a business as an option on leaving college.

Dr David Kirby, a senior lecturer in geography, said: "Many graduates

setting up new, small businesses, but the idea has always lacked a graduate input in this country, when compared with Germany, Japan and the USA. The main problem is that students are encouraged throughout the school with a safe, three employment, think about employment, that is, especially reinforced at university."

Under the scheme, students will be encouraged to start up their own businesses, but the idea has always lacked a graduate input in this country, when compared with Germany, Japan and the USA. The main problem is that students are encouraged throughout the school with a safe, three employment, think about employment, that is, especially reinforced at university."

the success of such ventures depended on understanding management techniques. "It is not enough just to have the idea and start the business. Graduates need to have some sort of knowledge of the skills and the difficulties involved."

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The programme seeks to offer graduates management training, financial advice, business counselling and network support. It consists of an introductory session, followed by a series of seminars, workshops and a summer school, weekends and group counselling sessions and a market research project.

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Membership increased by over 25% in 19

Genetic debate hots up

from Barbara von Ow
MUNICH

The rapid advance of genetic technology has stirred up a heated political and public debate in West Germany and is likely to become the subject of official legal regulation in the near future.

A special commission set up by Bonn last year to examine the possibilities and risks of genetic manipulation will urge the government to establish clear legislation for the industrial use of genetic technology as swiftly as possible.

In a first interim report on the findings of the commission, its chairman, Mr Wolf-Michael Catenhusen, said it was also in the interest of German industry to get clear security guidelines on the use of an entirely new technology. Some 16 West German enterprises were already believed to be preparing the industrial application of modern genetics.

Calls for binding legislation on the use of genetic technology have been steadily increasing over the past few months, particularly from the Social Democratic and Green opposition parties. The issue, further fuelled by the debate on surrogate mothers following the recent "Cotton baby" case in Britain, has also been widely discussed in the media. In a commentary, one newspaper said genetics posed a "revolutionary onslaught" on the na-

tion's legal system and moral values.

The ecological Greens party openly questioned the government on the issue of genetic technology in parliament last October. In his official reply, research minister Mr Heinz Riesenhuber, while pointing to the immense potential of genetic technology, notably in agriculture and medicine, acknowledged that there had to be limits for experiments aimed at reproducing or creating human life.

The government promotion of genetic research - it has backed the establishment of four new large research centres in the past few years - was wholly in accordance with "Christian ethics", Mr Riesenhuber noted, underlining that there was no official support for projects aimed at developing human embryos in test tubes or establishing genetic files for the detection of potential genetic deficiency.

Defending existing security safeguards as wholly satisfactory, the minister ruled out new legislation on the issue at least until the findings of the Enquete commission were available. The commission, which is investigating the economic, ecological, legal, ethical, and security implications of genetic research, is to submit its final report by the end of 1986.

However, Mr Catenhusen, noting that current regulations only covered basic research, left no doubt that the commission would call for urgent legal measures in the industrial field. Similar

legislation was introduced in the United States as early as 1981, he noted.

Praising the cooperation with scientists, Mr Catenhusen, a Social Democratic deputy, criticized industry for being less forthcoming in providing information to the commission. At the same time, he said the definition of genetic technology would possibly be expanded to include other manipulation methods such as cellular transfer and the fusion of chromosomes.

Equally, the potential military use of genetics, although not applicable under West Germany's ban on chemical weapons production, should be discussed. At any rate, the issue of setting limits for a new and universally applicable technology should not be left to scientific experts and politicians alone, but had to be decided in a public debate, he said.

One related issue on which the government will probably take legal action in the near future is the problem of surrogate mothers which, in the wake of the recent fierce public debate in Britain, has mobilized vehement concern in West Germany, mainly in Conservative and Catholic circles. Justice minister Mr Heinz Engelhard has made clear that a draft law would be submitted in due course. According to the former president of the constitutional court, Ernst Benda, there have already been two similar unpunished cases in West Germany.



Korean classical musicians perform in Seoul: a respect for cultural traditions is combined with a thirst for high tech.

Encouraging east to meet west

There are 12,000 South Korean students in the United States and 200 in Europe. Tim Yates looks at why Britain is not attracting more students from a country eager for advanced study.

A cold brisk November morning before the ubiquitous smog gets to work in Seoul with its nine million inhabitants, and even the equally ubiquitous riot police can be seen helping the traffic police to speed thousands of students to their examination centres. For this is an important day in the national calendar - the mass test for university entrance. Although half the high school graduates take some form of further education, the all-important entrance examination, tempered to some extent these days by school achievement records, determines who goes where and the odds are 5:2 against going anywhere.

Among the 104 major degree awarding bodies there is a distinct pecking order running downwards from Seoul National, the major institution in the state sector of higher education which includes only 23 per cent of the total number of colleges and universities. Certainly the three quarters of a million students who took the test earlier this winter are well aware of this hierarchy, which brings the curious problem that good students for reasons of "face" often take a place in a top college but in a department whose subject they may have little interest in. After one year some of these students look for overseas colleges as do those who fail to get in to the system at all.

The infant Korean higher education system was dealt a severe blow by the war which ended in 1953 after three years. In 1945 the country had 19 colleges with 8,000 students but after that stultid there are now 258 with a million students - although British dons would throw up their hands at average staff student ratios of well over 30:1.

It is a hundred years since the first high schools were established by missionaries from America and several of the best universities are still religious foundations in a country where Buddhism and Confucianism are being overhauled rapidly by Christianity - in the southern part of Korea it is not the lights of the night clubs on Texas Street that beckon but the red crosses on dozens of steeples. The government has become aware of the dangers of overreliance on America for study abroad and particularly of the use of the so-called "third party" agencies who in dubious "swoybo" colleges for any degree rather than none. The reputation is outslaying all but the most reputable.

The creation of a new technological university in Seoul has occasioned a survey of the educational systems of all the developed countries, and mainly Dr Christopher Moon, the Cambridge-educated "chemist" responsible for the UK section, is frank about his country's needs. Long out of the phase of its economic miracle when machines would be bought from the West, strapped down and copied, the Koreans are thirsting for advanced technology.

There is also an increasing awareness of the high level of most UK postgraduate activity which, combined with the tremendous social pressure to obtain degrees now rapidly becoming a pressure to acquire "good" degrees in the new technologies, could well lead to an increase in Korean students for those universities looking for a new source of overseas students.

heavily in biotechnology, pollution control and quality control and in effective engineering education. There is even a demand for copies of the Finniston report. Korean postgraduate laboratories are ill-equipped and although the new university, to be run, significantly by the ministry of science and technology and not the education department, and with a massive budget, will be an exception, for some time they will have to send graduates abroad for PhDs and postdoctoral research in many subjects.

But the Anglophile president of the Ulsan Institute of Technology which was started with British help in 1969, Dr Kwan Lee, readily describes the Korean view of British universities which he himself attempts to dispel. We are seen as expensive for tuition, although compared with quality American colleges this is hard to sustain, our rigid entrance qualifications and unfamiliarity with the credit system at Bachelor and Master's level can lead to protracted and often disappointing negotiations.

Then there is the circular argument - there are few Koreans to help others settle in an alien land - by comparison Los Angeles is Korea's sixth largest city. Although English is required throughout much of the school career, most Koreans have little chance to practice spoken English and many students would require short refresher courses particularly for scientific subjects. Fund-raising to help of a problem: fees in Korean universities are of the order of £1,000 a year but for study abroad, government agencies, private companies or wealthy parents between them able to cope.

It is clear, however, that there are specific areas where a marketing effort by British universities would result in an increased number of highly motivated Korean students. Updating courses for industry and English language for, immediately, thousands of short term employees for the 1988 Olympics are visible needs.

There also appear to be industrial benefits to be gained by linking UK companies and education. While the efforts of the steel, car and shipbuilding industries are staggering, there is still a need for equipment in many industries and for know how in the modern information technology fields. Any company which could offer high level training in conjunction with a UK university or polytechnic as a major selling point would have a competitive edge.

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Bennett goes back to basics

Expertise no substitute for rounded education says Reagan's new man

WASHINGTON

Although he has yet to appear before the Senate for confirmation of his appointment as Secretary of Education William J. Bennett has made his intentions clear: under his stewardship, higher education in America is going to be steered firmly back towards basic principles. The trend towards specialization and vocational training in college curricula will go into reverse, and be replaced by solid grounding in the humanities. In Dr Bennett's eyes, special expertise is no substitute for a well rounded education.

This is his stated aim, and it is so closely in line with President Reagan's known views that it probably clinched the job for Dr Bennett against some tough opposition. Whether he can achieve it or not is another question.

There is a huge mountain to climb. Since 1970 the decline of interest in the humanities has been remarkable: the number of English majors has dropped by 57 per cent, history by 62 per cent, philosophy by 4 per cent and modern languages by 50 per cent. And this has been despite Dr Bennett's best efforts in his role as chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, in which position he has been responsible for allocating federal and private funds over a wide sector of education.

Dr Bennett contends that the devaluation of the humanities is largely the fault of universities, which, he claims, have failed to communicate to students "a clear vision of what is worth knowing and what is important in our heritage that all educated persons should know". He accuses colleges of "allowing the thickness of their catalogues to substitute for vision and a philosophy of education".

But a report just issued by the University of California at Los Angeles indicates that the universities may be doing no more than meeting the growing demands of their students. In a detailed survey of the opinions and attitudes of the 1.64 million freshmen who entered American universities last year, UCLA reveals that materialism is now the name of the game. The numbers who rated the ability to make money as a "very important" reason for attending college rose to an all time high of 67.8 per cent while those who felt that being very well-off financially was a very important goal in life were a record 71.2 per cent.

In 1970, relative to 17 other personal values, being well off financially rated ninth. Now it is in second place, narrowly behind the wish to become an authority in their field. By contrast, the desire to write original work comes bottom of the list with 11 per cent. And while 15 years ago more than 80 per cent of undergraduates looked on a university education as a means of developing a meaningful philosophy of life that percentage has now fallen to less than 50.

This trend is reflected in the students' career plans. The numbers aspiring to careers in business, at 22.2 per cent, have doubled over the past 20 years. By contrast, only 3.5 per cent want to take up teaching at any level.

There is also a trend to see industrial benefits to be gained by linking UK companies and education. While the efforts of the steel, car and shipbuilding industries are staggering, there is still a need for equipment in many industries and for know how in the modern information technology fields. Any company which could offer high level training in conjunction with a UK university or polytechnic as a major selling point would have a competitive edge.

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Mr Bennett: apparent favouritism

10.4 per cent want to be engineers and 6 per cent accountants.

Dr Bennett is not unaware of the building social pressures, but contends that despite the career anxiety driving many students there is time in the average curriculum to include adequate exposure to the humanities, without undue sacrifice in other areas. He lays the blame squarely on the colleges, many of which he accuses of offering a rag-bag of courses designed to cater to contemporary concerns which are, in his view, of dubious substance. Dr Bennett would like to see many of these cleaned out.

All this suggests that Dr Bennett may face stiff opposition in his bid to turn back the clock to the palmy days of academe. The class of '85 presents a curious mixture of hard-headed materialism - perhaps born of fear for the economic future rather than greed - and traditional student idealism. Among the faculties there are a great many entrenched special interests who will not take kindly to disturbance.

As an example of the situation which now faces Dr Bennett in his bid to bring back the humanities to what he sees as their proper role, in three-quarters of American colleges a student can obtain a bachelor's degree without studying any European history. Foreign language study which was almost universally required for undergraduates in 1966, is now demanded by fewer than half of the institutions.

There is little argument among academics about the new secretary's basic thesis: that there is a core of cultural knowledge necessary for the well furnished mind, and that this core has been eroding dangerously. But his critics feel that he is hostile to new fields, such as women's and ethnic studies, and that his concepts of excellence are excessively rigid.

Historians, too, have been worried by Dr Bennett's apparent favouritism towards traditional studies at the expense of newer fields.

Dr Bennett, however, is quite unrepentant about his view that we are all products of Western civilization and should be familiar with its roots. He sees the humanities, not as an educational luxury, but as "body of knowledge and a means of inquiry that convey serious truths, defensible judgments, and significant ideas".

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University) claiming that drug abuse is a fundamental part of Jewish religion, thereby leaving the way open for *refusniks* to be framed for unlawful possession of narcotics.

Many of the *refusniks* have been without professional employment for more than 10 years, and have to try to survive on menial jobs, private coaching, or ghost-writing articles for popular science journals.

The Sunday seminar, founded in 1973 by Dr Aleksandr Voronel, to keep up some kind of scientific life for the *refusniks*, are under constant pressure from the security authorities, and, following the arrest of the convener, Dr Viktor Brailovskiy, have for the last few years been able to meet only at irregular intervals.

Nevertheless, the international committee urges all scientists visiting the Soviet Union for "official" con-

ferences also to attend the *refusniks'* seminars, and to take their recent scientific journals and off-prints in order to keep up some kind of scientific life.

Several scientists attending the colloquium gave glowing reports of their contacts with the *refusniks'* seminars and stressed that there was no hazard for scientists with an official programme in the Soviet Union who also gave this important moral boost to the *refusniks*.

This is not entirely true: last summer Dr Ephraim Katzir from Israel was picked up by the police when, after an official conference in Moscow, he tried to visit *refusniks* in Leningrad. Moreover, some Western scientists, including members of the international committee, seem to have a somewhat naive approach to Soviet law: in particular, the Soviet criminal code.

During the press conference, one of the official panel stressed the material difficulties of *refusnik* life and noted that if money orders are sent to the *refusniks* from the West, more than 60 per cent of the face value disappeared in Soviet taxes. Therefore, the speaker urged, visitors should take with them sophisticated, Western goods which could be privately sold by the *refusniks* for a considerable sum.

This suggestion evoked a vehement protest from Dr Voronel, who pointed out that such deals could bring down on the *refusniks* heavy prison sentences for speculation.

Much as the *refusnik* scientists depend on moral support from Western colleagues, it would seem a prime necessity that any Westerner who wishes to visit the *refusniks* should first familiarize himself with a few basic tenets of Soviet law and, in particular, the Soviet criminal code.

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Irish unit costs leak angers academics

from John Walshe

DUBLIN

Irish university academics are annoyed over the publication of confidential unit costings which showed that costs ranged from as low as IR£704 to as high as IR£23,563 for full-time equivalent students in 1982/83.

The tables were prepared in strictest secrecy by the Higher Education Authority for the education ministry. Members of the authority were shown the report but copies were taken back at the end of a meeting and shredded. Individual college administrators knew their own figures but not those for the other institutions.

However, a copy of the report leaked out to a national newspaper to some embarrassment but also to the fascination of many university staff who were anxious to see how their departments fared in comparison with others.

Dearest, by a long shot, was Irish folklore at University College, Dublin (15 full-time equivalent students at £23,563 each) followed by Celtic studies at £22,424 for each of the seven students at University College, Cork. But Mr John Hayden, secretary of the Higher Education Authority, pointed out that folklore departments had the task of collecting and storing material and that teaching was only a minor part of their work.

Third dearest was oceanography at University College, Galway, at £13,252 for each of its 16 students. But Galway University has the only department of oceanography in the country. Galway also had the dearest medical school at £4,676 for each of the 360 full-time equivalent places.

Minority languages also worked out expensively. Welsh at University College, Dublin, cost £8,357 (seven full-time equivalent students) and Russian at Trinity College, Dublin, cost £5,488 (21).

About a quarter of the departments had unit costings of more than £4,400. But Mr Hayden said many of these provided specialist training in areas where there was a demand for a limited number of graduates: agricultural and

chemical engineering, pharmacy and dentistry. Other departments, such as chemistry and microbiology, were likely to have high laboratory costs because of the cost of materials used in experiments. Some subjects were located in only one college.

Overall, arts and humanities accounted for only 32 per cent of total expenditure even though they catered for 43 per cent of total student enrolment. Commerce/economic and social studies catered for 9.5 per cent of students and 5.5 per cent of the total costs and law for 4.5 per cent of students and 2 per cent of expenditure. Scientific, medical and technological faculties accounted for 43 per cent of the enrolments, but their costs amounted to more than 60 per cent of total expenditure.

Total expenditure on the five university colleges - catering for nearly 30,000 full-time equivalent students - amounted to £80m, of which the taxpayer paid 84 per cent, with most of the remainder coming from students' tuition fees.

The tables did not include costings for the faculties of agriculture, veterinary medicine and dairy science which are generally believed to be among the highest in the universities; these faculties are funded separately by the agriculture ministry.

Following the publication of the figures in the *Irish Independent*, academics rushed to defend their own departmental costs - alluding to the particular circumstances in each case.

But underlying the anger behind publication is apprehension about what the ministry is going to do with the figures now that it has them. It is expected that figures will also be sought from the non-university sector of higher education.

Concern that basic research is suffering because of the emphasis on short-term applied research was expressed last week at an informal meeting of university teacher organizations from 10 countries in Dublin. Representatives also voiced worries about the terms of employment of many researchers and stressed the need to retain mobility.

University is closed

The University of Swaziland was closed down last week after reports that students were promoting the activities of the African National Congress - the black liberation body banned in South Africa.

The move follows the publication of an official report by a commission of inquiry into the disturbances at the Mbabane campus last September.

According to the report, the students exhibited "an unhealthy preoccupation with the philosophies, aims and objectives of the ANC". The document also criticized the university administration.

Over the past couple of years, South Africa has increasingly won the support of the Swazi authorities in curbing ANC activities within the kingdom's borders. Apprehension of several ANC insurgents and the confiscation of arms caches have been the result.

The NUCTT's move came as a bitter blow to the dispute-ridden congress, which was set-up 12 years ago with the ultimate objective of forming a single national teachers union. The congress until now, had a membership of 32,000 and only one union, the National Union of the Teaching Profession (NUTP) - was not affiliated.

NUCTT president, Mr Ali Hashim says the congress has failed to act as a unit and his members "feel there is no purpose in staying in the congress" because the different teacher unions "are moving further apart and their differences cannot be resolved". Individual unions have continued to represent themselves on important issues, often with conflicting interests, when dealing with the Ministry of Education. When the main purpose of the congress was to speak with one voice.

Mr Hashim also claims that the congress is running into financial difficulties, largely because other unions had failed to pay their subscriptions. As a result congress headquarters in Mbabane was now solely funded by the NUCTT.

The NUCTT and the Malay Teachers Union (MTU), each with 11,000 members, were the two largest unions in the congress, with Chinese, Tamil and religious teachers making up the rest.

Union leaves congress

by Geoffrey Parkins

One of Malaysia's two biggest teacher unions, the National Union of College Trained Teachers (NUCTT), which has 11,000 members, has announced that it is pulling out of the Congress of Teachers Unions in the Education Service, over what its executive describes as irreconcilable differences with other unions. The executive has also ordered its representatives holding office in the congress to resign immediately.

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In September The Times Higher Education Supplement

published a 4-page analysis of the joint statement from the University Grants Committee and the National Advisory Body regarding the basis for considering the present and future role of higher education in our society.

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No more fudging on a sticky issue

David Jobbins on a more positive approach to the salary negotiations

Early in February college lecturers and the local authority employers will take the first tentative steps towards radical and long-needed reforms in salary structure.

On Monday February 4 the further education joint working party (previously styled Fudgap by union officials) will explore how the joint review of structure, suggested by Mr John Pearson the Labour leader of the employers' side of the Burnham further education committee, can be carried out.

Neither side believes the task will be easy, speedy, or necessarily successful. But union negotiators and the local authorities are both convinced that it offers the only realistic way of meeting at least some of the lecturers' aspirations and possibly persuading ministers that a little new money can be injected into the system.

The working party has been in existence for some years, ostensibly as a mechanism for tackling the inevitable questions of detail that crop up in the implementation of new collective agreements. But it has also established the unenviable reputation of a dumping ground for the left over parts of claims that neither side has the tenacity to resolve in the rush to settle.

Despite this reputation, it was the obvious vehicle for the task. It is constitutionally not only a subcommittee of the main Burnham body, but of the national joint council on conditions of service too.

Both sides recognize that in this review the two sides of the equation are inextricably intertwined — an assumption implicit in the agreement to set up the NIC in the early 1980s.

Each side has eight or nine on its team, a mixture of officials and lay

members, with Department of Education and Science officials also present as on the main Burnham, acting effectively as a hot line to the secretary of state.

But what about its image of impotence as a result of its lack of progress in handling detailed claims? Mr David Triesman, negotiating secretary of the main union, the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education says: "The reputation is as you describe it, but its potential is neutral."

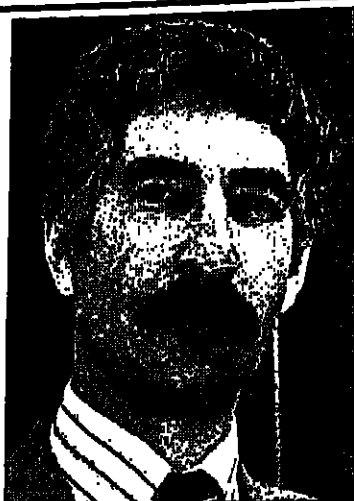
"It bridges the two areas of salaries and conditions of service and is already in existence."

What is changing the way people view "Fudgap" from a neutral to a positive influence is the attitude of the management panel. There are signs of a different perspective among at least its leadership — a direct factor in reaching last year's abortive provisional agreement and one which has triggered a response in NAFHE when its counterclaim in primary and secondary education has pulled out of structural talks.

The local authorities are adamant that reforms must in the main be self-financing, but they have conceded in private talks with the unions that where this proves impossible they will be prepared to take part in a joint approach to the Department of Education and Science if they are convinced on educational grounds.

Their initiative came last year in the immediate aftermath of the debacle of arbitration when once again the underlying structural faults of the salary system remained unchanged.

Twice before, third parties have



Delicately poised between conciliation and cooperation (left to right): Mr David Triesman, Mr John Pearson and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Nigel Lawson.

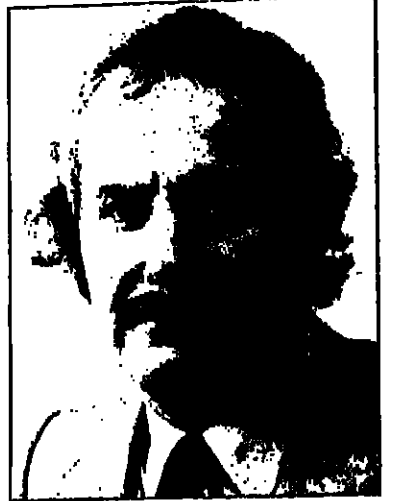
should be tackled by the two sides in negotiations. But the climate has never been propitious — cash limits restricting the employers' scope for manoeuvre and the spectre of redundancies lessening the readiness of the unions to put existing collective agreements at risk.

The review had its roots in the provisional deal struck between union negotiators and the local authorities last Easter. An urgent review was included in the package, but it was one of the elements specifically rejected by the national council of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education.

As Mr Pearson told the first Burnham further education committee of the 1985 pay round: "It did include expressions of concern shared at that time by both sides about the future of the higher and further education service and the need to consolidate its strengths against external pressures and criticisms that beset it."

Central to the employers' case is the need for value for money and increased flexibility. This in itself is not new — what seems to be novel is the way they are now going about it in a spirit of cooperation rather than confrontation.

This change can be directly attributed to the happenstance of Mr Pearson taking over from Mr Philip Merridale in the Burnham FE hot seat.



Delicately poised between conciliation and cooperation (left to right): Mr David Triesman, Mr John Pearson and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Nigel Lawson.

He uses the same language — the placing firmly on the record of the anxiety of outside "customer" agencies such as the Manpower Services Commission at the cost of the FE service.

Many of the areas where management wants change had been enumerated by Mr Merridale — remission, class contact hours — but lecturers' leaders are convinced that there will be something in it for their side too — action on the Lecturer 1 issue, grading of courses and a retreat by the management from its provocative proposals for an instructor grade.

They may not be entirely convinced but believe the alternative is the worst possible combination of confrontation and stagnation.

The climate has grown less favourable since November, with the scope for payroll improvements heavily circumscribed by the 3 per cent cash limit and the Chancellor's view that public spending remains too high.

Similar problems confront the vice chancellors, who are faced with a demand for a one-off review for university lecturers, aimed at restoring their position in the salaries league.

Their room for manoeuvre will be further limited by their unwillingness to give hostages to fortune in advance of this summer's Green Paper on higher education policy.

When they met last week to review

the position, one of the vice chancellors' main concerns was their demand that persuading ministers to restore the money until last year's equivalent of the L100 promise blockage at the top of the lecturers' range about £8,500 are stuck at limited hopes of a senior post. The are detailed demands arising from particular difficulties of many of the teaching staff on academic salaries, administrators, librarians and research workers prominent among them.

The vice chancellors are to be told once again on the low pay front the support staff, with all three groups lodging claims pointing to the issue.

So the pay round is delicately poised between conciliation and cooperation on the one hand, and confrontation on the other. The next few weeks will be critical in determining which way it goes.

John O'Leary meets Giles Radice, Labour's spokesman on education

Giles Radice is one of the last survivors of a fast disappearing breed, an anachronism to many Labour Party activists and proud of it. For, as a public school and Oxford-educated southerner representing a constituency in the north-east of England, the shadow education secretary sees himself in the perfect position to help bring together a divided society.

"In my own person I unite north and south," he says. "My background is not conventional for a Labour MP; in fact I am a bit of an oddity altogether. I am not saying that we should restart the public school system of selection, but it does give me the ability to accept and understand what other people are thinking. We do have a divided society and I want to build a new consensus through the Labour Party."

There, in a nutshell, lies the basis of Mr Radice's political philosophy. Not for him the conventional approach of the left, nor the despairing course taken by so many of his former allies now in the Social Democratic Party. Rather, he has stayed and fought his corner in the only party he believes capable of forming a government to implement the type of gradualist social reforms needed both to unite the nation and to set it on a fairer and more successful course.

As a careful, wily politician of wide experience in and out of Parliament, he would have been more likely than most to spot the long-term pitfalls of joining the SDP. Indeed, with a rock-solid Labour seat in Durham, the pitfalls almost certainly would have come sooner, rather than later. But the motivation for sticking with Labour was deeper than mere political calculation. "I never thought of going," he says. "I have a romantic attachment to the Labour Party."

In fact, the formation of the SDP proved to be a turning point in his political career. After seven years as the MP for Chester-le-Street, he had established himself at Westminster, acting for the last year of Labour government as Mrs Shirley Williams' Parliamentary Private Secretary, when the split came. Far from joining the exodus, as many might have expected of one closely associated with Mrs Williams and Labour's right wing, Mr Radice set about the new party in the press and soon became a more prominent figure in the Labour Party.

Having had a brief spell as a spokesman on foreign affairs, he spent the run-up to last election supporting Mr Eric Varley in the employment team. At the same time, belying his deceptively retiring manner, he did not shrink from involvement in his party's internal wrangling. He played a leading part in Mr Roy Hattersley's leadership and deputy leadership campaigns and chaired the Manifesto group of centre and right-wing Labour MPs.

Believer in a mixed economy

Not that he likes the normal political labels. He prefers to describe himself as a Fabian, being a long-standing member of that society's executive, and says: "I do not consider myself a pragmatic sort of person. I have my own intellectual position worked out. Those who think that being associated with the centre/right of the party means that you do not have very firm convictions and definite policies are likely to be mistaken."

He likens his political position to that of the late Tony Crosland, for whom he had enormous admiration, reflected in a contribution to the Crosland memorial volume. He is primarily an egalitarian, a strong European and a believer in the mixed economy. Those last two have been enough to land many Labour MPs with serious reselection problems but Mr Radice's North Durham constituency, though new itself, is "old-style" Labour and likely to support him by something like four to one. Despite his background, Mr Radice's personality and conscientiousness have made him popular both in the constituency and among his colleagues in the Northern Group of Labour MPs.

His support was vital when it came to taking the next step up the political ladder. His stand within the party, as well as his performances as a front-bench spokesman, paid off once the election had been lost and a new leadership installed in the Labour Party. Mr Radice scraped home in the shadow cabinet elections, asked for the education brief and got it. A year on, he had consolidated his position and was climbing up the shadow cabinet ladder and gladly accepting Mr Neil Kinnock's invitation to stay on at education.

Unlike so many of his predecessors, he hopes to stay there too and move into Elizabeth House after the next general election. He describes himself as "a realistic optimist" on the prospects of the electorate making such a move a possibility. "At the moment,



Giles Radice: "In my own person I unite north and south."

Comprehensively romantic...

obviously we are behind," he says. "But I still believe we can win both because I have seen political parties of the right make a total mess of things and because I've seen political parties of the left, apparently in a hopeless position, recover very quickly." He cites Socialist victories in France and Spain as examples, together with Labour's own recovery after its defeat in 1959.

If a transformation in Labour's fortunes does come in time for the next election, Mr Radice seems well placed to realize his ambition. Mr Kinnock was a hard act to follow as education spokesman both for the party and the press, but there are few complaints about his performance. He has sensibly, not to emulate his predecessor's tub-thumping, headline-grabbing approach to the job and has concentrated on developing policies to build up Labour's constituency within education and among its consumers.

Like any education spokesman, he has had to make schools the priority: that is the largest part of the constituency and certainly the one where the votes are. But he has spent more time than most on higher education, which he sees as a potential vote-loser for the Government as try to emulate his predecessor's tub-thumping, headline-grabbing approach to the job and has concentrated on developing policies to build up Labour's constituency within education and among its consumers.

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about the importance of education, votes or no votes. "The place of education in a socialist strategy has always been an important part of my political beliefs," he says, again citing Crosland as a formative influence. Indeed, with his wife Lisiane, the

president of the Association of University Teachers at Brunel University and five children from their two previous marriages shepherded through secondary and higher education, he could hardly have ignored the subject.

A privileged education had left him with strong views in any case. He admits enjoying life at Magdalen College, Oxford, although he is less charitable about his school days at Winchester. At Oxford he worked hard as a historian and had little time for student politics, although he was committed to Labour even then. Later he worked as a researcher for a Labour MP and went on to study economics at the London School of Economics.

Having completed his academic education, in 1964 he began his political education in earnest, when he joined the staff of the General and Municipal Workers' Union (as it then was). By 1966 he was head of the union's research department, embroiled in industrial relations questions and becoming a committed advocate of industrial democracy. He later gave vent to his feelings on this particular passion in the shape of a private member's Bill to put workers on the boards of nationalized companies, and in one of his five books, *The Industrial Democrats*.

The political education he received proved to be a double-edged sword, as the union eventually sponsored him as an MP but also provided ammunition for his opponents in a rather dirty by-election campaign when the Poulson affair and the role of Andrew Cunningham, a CMAU official, was a hot potato in the North-East.

Generosity of spirit towards opponents

Once in the House of Commons, he was perhaps better known for his interest in industrial democracy and his knowledge of foreign affairs than for expertise in education. But he was a member of the backbench education committee and also gained valuable experience as PPS to Mrs Williams, whose departure from the Labour Party he still regrets. "I retain fondness for her, as most people do, and if she doesn't now, I believe she will come to regret her decision," he says.

Mr Radice retains something of the same generosity of spirit towards his immediate opponents in the Government. He respects the intellectual capability of Sir Keith Joseph, although he adds: "I have to say that I don't believe he has concentrated much attention on the problems of higher education. Certainly, his move over student grants was not very well thought out and I do not believe that the Government has thought through what it wants from higher education more generally."

"I expect the green paper to be a severe disappointment, but I do think what the Government has done in higher education has been pretty disastrous."

He is particularly amused by the idea of Mr Peter Brooke, as chairman of the National Advisory Body, telling himself, as the representative of government, how undesirable his policies had been. Labour made submissions to both the NAB and the University Grants Committee while they were considering their advice to Sir Keith, and Mr Radice is now planning an alternative green paper to take the wind from the Government's sails by putting his party's policy for higher education before the public before the official document is issued.

That policy will owe much to Mr Phillip Whitehead, the last Labour spokesman on higher education, now co-opted to the party's revamped education committee despite losing his seat at the election. Mr Radice is not one for change for change's sake and he sees no reason to tinker with policy recently and thoroughly worked out.

As a result, the central point remains the "contract" Labour would offer the universities and other institutions of higher education. Security of funding would be offered in exchange for a willingness to adapt to changing needs. Extra money would be made available to facilitate the switch to science and technology, to fund more postgraduates and expand research, to rescue the universities' new blood scheme, ensure the public sector did not stagnate and reward the protection and expansion of access to higher education. In return, Labour would ask universities to take more local students and all institutions to help local industry, and to take seriously their responsibilities on continuing education and for mature students.

It sounds simple enough, but extensive travels in the past year and more have left Mr Radice in no doubt that he will have his work cut out achieving anything like universal agreement. Everywhere he has been received politely enough but he does not disguise his frustration at the attitude displayed in some universities.

"There is a certain tendency to say that polytechnics can look after local needs; the university is in an international market. I don't think that will wash; nor should it," he says. "Some universities seem to believe that their role is simply to have very high standards, talking purely about A level passes, and that they have satisfied their objectives once they have taken in those students. This is not a general criticism but those to which it applies will immediately recognize themselves."

There is little doubt that Oxford and Cambridge are two of the universities to which he is referring. He has told both that they should reflect more closely the balance between state and private schools and that they should speed up reforms in admissions procedures. "My time at Oxford was a very attractive part of my life, but I have to say that I think the position of Oxford and Cambridge, and in particular their admissions policies, must be kept under very close scrutiny," Mr Radice says.

Their privileged position buffers

sed by the state, although don't believe in operating by threat through student grants. I think it is unfair to visit the sins of fathers on the children. I do think it is up to all the universities to reflect more accurately the balance between the two school sectors."

It is a characteristically liberal reaction, preferring persuasion to coercion despite questionable prospects of success. Similarly, he would be reluctant to tamper with the buffer role of the UGC if Labour's wishes were not being followed in the distribution of a restored budget. He says: "I think we need a reformed UGC, more open and representative, but I would not want to have to intervene more directly. However, I do think those who accept money from the state have to try to serve the needs of the community more obviously than some do at the moment."

No guarantees of extra money

Not that Mr Radice is promising the moon for higher education in any case, critical though he is of the Conservatives' cuts. "I can say that there would not be any more cuts, but I would not be able to argue for useful increases in some areas unless higher education in general, and the universities in particular, helped themselves by going along with some of the views not only of the Labour Party but also in the joint statement by the NAB and the UGC. It was just going to be extra money and no changes. I don't think I would be able to win it and nor would I want to."

In the meantime, Mr Radice believes, higher education has to become more articulate in its own causes. "Both politicians and members of the media tend to pay lip service to the importance of education, but the eyes glaze over when educationalists start talking about policies," he maintains. "We have got to get away from educationists talking to educationists."

He is going to make a start himself with a book on education policy, while continuing the delicate balancing act which goes into producing Labour's own. He must try to produce a package acceptable to the party and the unions, attractive to the electorate and capable of implementation. On tenure, for example, he has committed himself to opposing the Government's proposed legislation and promised new measures if that opposition fails, to protect academic freedom and preserve "reasonable job security." But it did not escape the notice of many at the AUT council that he stopped short of guaranteeing to reinstate the existing system.

Mr Radice is well equipped to deal with such difficulties. On first impression, he appears elegant and intellectual but possibly too weak for the rough and tumble of politics at the highest level. In fact, he is a politician to his fingertips. He would not claim to have made as big a splash in his first year in office as did Mr Kinnock, but his more circumspect approach should leave Labour with an education policy to put to the electorate which is comprehensive in more than the sense.

In the final part of his series on intellectual property, Jon Turney looks at how scientists are doing business

Eureka! — patent pending

Eureka! A natural cry at the instant of enlightenment. But could Archimedes have applied for a patent? Today's scientist would do better to suppress such jubilation until after discussions with an intellectual property consultant.

The time lag between basic research and industrial application is shrinking, especially in the new "high-tech" industries of computing and biotechnology. And it is in these areas that new relationships between originators and exploiters of ideas are being worked out, generally through the patent system.

So a look at the tensions emerging in these areas as university scientists try and come to terms with the commercial interest in their work offers clues to the future of the wider community of researchers. Genetic engineers and computer researchers, especially those working under the Alvey programme for new generation computers, now have to think carefully who to tell about their work, and when.

Some of the problems they face are technical, stemming from the kinds property researchers now seek to protect, notably new bugs in biotechnology and software in computer research. But some problems are structural. As the American scientist, Professor Dorothy Nelkin points out in a recent book, *Intellectual Property*, the patent system is built on a contradiction — it slows the spread of particular new ideas so the profit accruing to their owners acts as a general encouragement to do new research. This runs across scientific habits like discussing new results at conferences, circulating draft papers or preprints, or just using the grapevine which used to provide workers in competitive fields like molecular biology with regular news of others' progress.

like Genetech spend millions of dollars a year drafting patents and, just as important, defending them.

In biotechnology, too, there are special questions around the procedure for patenting, especially around what counts as a full specification. In return for the property rights granted under a full patent, the discoverer must offer a specification of a novel device or process which tells someone else in the field how to repeat the work.

When the subject of the patent is a living organism, a genetically engineered bacterium, for example, the disclosure requirement is generally met by placing culture samples in an official collection. This is totally unsatisfactory, according to Dr P. Kolker of ICI's pharmaceuticals division. He told a recent conference on exploiting biotechnology at Warwick University that this places the microorganism out of the patentee's control, and reduces protection.

Dr Kolker and other specialists take special exception to the European and British convention that cultures must be deposited when the patent specification is published, which may be some time before it is granted. While the whole point of a patent is to expedite technology transfer, microorganisms make it too easy, in his view, as anyone can take a sample and grow as much more as they please.

Dr Kolker wants the law strengthened to control access by third parties, and to prevent samples being taken out of the territory covered by the patent. Even this would not avoid the possibility of a competitor altering a deposited bacterium by genetic engineering and claiming it was a new organism.

Problems like this, and the tangled questions of what is a natural product and what a manufactured artifact, when some chemical is made by a micro-organism, lie at the root of a large number of disputes between biotech-

punctured the history of commercial genetic engineering, mainly in the United States.

The longest running action centred on the patent held by Stanford University covering the basic techniques of DNA splicing developed by Drs Stanley Cohen and Herbert Boyer in the 1970s. The Boyer-Cohen patent has brought Stanford well over \$1m in licence fees from companies — a source of income can make free use of the technique. But the university had to spend much of the income defending challenges to the patent after American lawyers unearthed a conference report in our own *New Scientist* which gave basic details of the work.

The dispute was eventually resolved in the university's favour, but it underlined the three patent awareness "posers" to straight-forward scientific communication. Also in the US, where commercialization of biology is becoming more established, cases are emerging of hindrances to academic research because material which would normally be freely traded between university groups is owned by a company active in the field. For example, two dozen US research groups received letters from Johnson and Johnson last year warning that use of a particular piece of laboratory preparation — one of the new line of monoclonal antibodies — made with developed technique — could infringe the company's patent rights.

The British scene has not been marked by legal spectacles as in the US but it is likely similar conflicts will emerge as the ties between academic and commercial work grow more complex. The complexity they may face is best shown in the second main area where companies and university researchers are setting up new collaborations — the Department of Trade and Industry's Alvey programme for advanced research in computing and communications.

In fact, manufacturing out collabora-

tion agreements which square all the interests involved has delayed many Alvey projects, with some university groups being bailed out with emergency payments before official Alvey grants begin to roll. The Alvey directorate was surprised at the lack of experience of drawing up such agreements, either in companies or colleges, and what once seemed a relatively straightforward job has come to occupy more and more of the time of all parties to Alvey.

The big companies, like GEC, have been linked that there is no standard framework for dealing with universities. This is understandable when GEC, for example, has 35 collaborative projects in hand, most of them involving more than one academic group. As Mr Chris Hibbert, head of finance and contracts for GEC, told a recent meeting called by the directorate to discuss collaboration agreements: "If we tried to negotiate with 50 universities individually we'd still be here in 1987."

His concern is understandable when a single draft collaboration agreement covering GEC's interest in Alvey work on making very large integrated circuits runs to over 50 pages and took nine months to complete.

Mr Hibbert divided universities into three groups. Some had no opinion when presented with collaboration proposals in draft. These were the simply meant they hadn't read the document. A second group had a position worked out, and negotiations could proceed. He also found a third group who really didn't like Alvey and preferred Science and Engineering Research Council funding with no strings attached. GEC didn't want to work with groups like this as they shouldn't be in Alvey at all unless they wanted to cooperate with industry.

But despite the problems, and what Dr Carolyn McDowell of software consultants Logica described at the

Alvey conference as a legal dead end, it is possible to frame agreements that work. The key is successful collaboration, according to Dr McDowell, was to produce a clear agreement as early as possible, starting working on it while the details were being finalized — otherwise new problems always appear at the last minute.

A comprehensive agreement should have at least six headings, as a Logica model. Their range shows how simple it is to communicate with in the ethos of the first about a discovery.

First, the agreement must state who the collaborators are and, while the conditions of confidentiality, disclosure must be agreed by all organizations involved, and every individual, including research students. Those last two have been enough to land many Labour MPs with serious reselection problems but Mr Radice's North Durham constituency, though new itself, is "old-style" Labour and likely to support him by something like four to one. Despite his background, Mr Radice's personality and conscientiousness have made him popular both in the constituency and among his colleagues in the Northern Group of Labour MPs.

Then the agreement must state ownership and licensing of intellectual property rights. Under Alvey, work becomes the property of all companies, who will pay a royalty to any university contribution. But it may be "background" or "front-end" by the university, or the British Technology Group, and the company cannot expect to take advantage of years of prior research for free. They should also be on account of the management and coordination of the programme — who reports to whom.

Finally, the agreement should state mechanisms for claims and payment, and include conditions for its termination. Get all that right, says Dr McDowell, and you may have a fruitful collaboration. She stressed that would never be easy, but also felt that the problems were the normal problems of doing business.

In a way, that sums up the conditions of work for researchers in these fields. They may still be doing science, but more and more are doing business as well.

A good head for figures

Karen Gold visits the Newcastle Polytechnic fashion department to report on a project which links the creative and commercial sides of the rag trade

British Rail may be improving, but haute couture isn't. So there was no problem at all picking out the four fashion designers on the early morning inter-city London to Newcastle. From the bow tie to the black lace tights they just looked more - well, more dressed than anyone else.

Gina Wordsworth (design manager, Marks and Spencer), Anne Earle (fabric and colour manager M&S), Michael Jones (forecast designer M&S) and Sylvia Ayton (Walls coat designer) were travelling to Newcastle Polytechnic for the day, to carry out the final stages of an unusual project.

For the last four years the polytechnic's third year fashion students have all spent a term working to a design and marketing brief set by a major fashion company. This year it was the ultimate in mass market fashion: Marks and Spencer.

The project began in the summer with a visit by the students to M&S headquarters in London. The Newcastle fashion course is one of only a handful to have a "fashion marketing" stream: students take a common first year and then divide between design and marketing. It's not business studies, emphasizes the head of the school of fashion, Professor Mary Bromley: the polytechnic's fashion students have all done business and law for years. Marketing is the art of making fashion sell. Something Marks and Spencer certainly knows about.

But Marks and Spencer's brief for the students was to find out how the firm could sell still more. The five marketing students went away, designed a survey, and spent part of the summer in 12 M&S stores around the country observing and questioning customers.

They - in common it must be admitted with various fashion and business writers, and some M&S planners themselves - lighted upon

Sophisticated Woman: 22-35-year-old careerist, looking for more expensive and exclusive clothes than M&S currently supply, and willing to pay for them.

The marketing students, with M&S approval, brought her to the attention of their 11 designer counterparts on the course, and commissioned them to design her a range of clothes on a "Dandy" theme: the 1810 look predicted for 1985/86 fashion.

By this time it was the third week of the autumn term. The two groups of students discussed the shapes, fabrics, colours and overall look required. They decided on a mixture of navy and bitter chocolate, of classic and high fashion styles, all under a new exclusive label: ELECT.

The fashion students took three days working individually to come up with almost 100 initial ideas. Then they came together with the marketing group again to pick out the best.

They spent another day working on the designs, then made a final selection of about a dozen outfits. Every student had an outfit, though outfits varied between two and four garments. All the students also had to draw the entire range.

The design students then sat down to make patterns and "toiles": cheap fabric copies of the garment. That finished several weeks later, and Sylvia Ayton of Walls (a member of

the Council for National Academic Awards Fashion and Textile Board, which Professor Bromley chairs), came up for a first stage critique: making suggestions, trying out different combinations, doing the job of a selector.

She left: the students made up their final garments in fabrics rather less exciting than they had first hoped, since samples from international textile companies had not arrived. (Precisely the problem their professional counterparts suffer from too.)

They handed over to the marketing students, who arranged photographs and a brochure of the collection using polytechnic photography and graphics students and technicians, and prepared - with a press release and display explaining their marketing strategy - to show the collection to interested outsiders and the four critics travelling up on the London to Newcastle train.

The exercise is not aimed at sneaking students' work into next year's M&S collection (though the Laura Ashley critics in their year bought five patterns and designs). It does provide a cold blast of professionalism: students have to work as a team, whereas much of their course encourages individualism and competition; they have to make decisions and defend them publicly within commercial restrictions. They have to find their own fabrics and models - one was spotted in a disco this year - for the show.

"I hope they'll be critical," said Professor Bromley of the four outsiders just before the show started. "That's why they're here."

They were. Most strongly about the students' drawings, displayed with the photomontage of M&S customers: both present (lumpy with shopping bags) and future (dressed to kill). The drawings were too pretty they said; not enough detail, no use for cutters to work from. The students protested they were illustrations not technical drawings. Gina Wordsworth remarked that M&S drawings were used by technicians and then framed and put up on the wall.

Then they moved to the clothes. Each design student introduced an outfit, and was questioned on it by the critics. Sometimes the language of fashion came into play. "I'm not sure what that coat's about," said Michael Jones. But it was mostly more down



Equestrian-inspired suit by Rebecca Paxton

to earth: could this garment sell when M&S minimum orders are 1,000 dozen and buyers need 17,000 dozen to get a garment in every store?

Would a coat sell at £150? M&S said more like £80. The students said their new customer wanted the privilege of paying more for a garment because she knew it was exclusive. It gave it more status.

That would never be Marks and Spencer's way, said Gina Wordsworth. "We never think of price in design. It's value we talk about. We don't talk about price."

At the same time, the more expensive garments should not have too much identifying detail, suggested Michael Jones, noting the exquisite hand-knotted edgings and buttons on the coat. "Remember it's got 'St Michael' on the label," said Sylvia Ayton.

Oh no, it hasn't, said the students. Remember ELECT? That's on the label: our new customer doesn't want her clothes to be identifiable Marks and Spencer.

"But we still are a chain store," exploded Gina Wordsworth. "If you want a label you shop at Harrods. We happen to be very proud of the St Michael label. If you are trying to change the label, you are trying to tell us we ought not to be as proud of the label we have. Our customers rely on us. The St Michael label is value first, and everything else afterwards."

What about ELECT by St Michael, suggested Michael Jones. Yes, said the marketing students shamefacedly. We did actually do it off with that.

The average M&S shopper is 10 foot four inches tall, the critics pointed out. Several of the students' coats, jackets and a dress were "difficult" for her. In one case a marketing student had ruled that, but had wanted - supposedly - to give the designer a hand. In others, they hadn't grasped the problem.

On one jacket you couldn't see where the waist was. A coat and skirt swept the ground. "When the average lady buys a dress, she likes to sit on and look dicky," said Sylvia Ayton. The dress the student had designed was "difficult" for you know what to do with it. I demonstrate, she sprang out of a seat at the subsequent model, took up a three-quarter length blouse coat to become a jacket, and everybody breathed a sigh of relief.

"You quite often don't need to design as much as you think you do to," said Michael Jones summing up. "Overall I think it was a very successful project, but often the slight garments were the better."

"Fashion is right when people are wearing it," said Sylvia Ayton, explaining both the point of the project and how it is that fashion can be taught. And why it was that four professionalists agreed - despite their completely contrasting tastes in personal dress - which was the last outfit.



Below left: The stylish presentation of the designs is a sharp contrast to the classroom sessions. Clothes which in the photographs are seen in their own context must vie for attention with other designs. Here, a group from Marks and Spencer looks at the students' work.

Below right: A selection of hats and shirts by Helen Whiteley, Anthony Young, Mark Whittaker, Colleen Sandieson and Julie Broughton.

Peter Abell analyses the principles behind Clause Four and the new political economy

Staking the labour claim

Marx's reluctance to pen a detailed picture of the future socialist society is notorious (even if rather judicious on his behalf). What is abundantly clear in his writing and almost invariably explicit in the constitutions of most socialist parties is a belief in the necessity of "common ownership" (or some apparently equivalent phrase) of the instruments of production and exchange in the socialist order of things.

Thus the celebrated Clause Four, which has over the years caused so much consternation in the British Labour Party: the party is "to secure for the workers by hand and by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service". But is "common ownership" suggestive of the moral liberation of mankind, that almost irresistible promise of a sort of historical movement held out by Marxian doctrine? Is "common ownership", in fact, necessary to socialism?

These questions have been posed as many times as they have been unsatisfactorily answered. The right is pretty certain that common ownership is of the essence of socialism but spells the antithesis of moral liberation, the traditional left answers both questions in the affirmative.

The wording of the Labour Party's Clause Four affords pride of place to considerations of property rights over matters of distributive justice. It is not the most equitable distribution which the party is exhorted to seek but the most equitable distribution based upon "the common ownership of the means of production and exchange".

"The common ownership of the means of production and exchange" is by no means a self-evidently transparent phrase and any answer which may be proffered to these fundamental queries will doubtless depend on the interpretation it is given. The most common one, of course, is nationalization (or municipalization) where the full set of property rights implied by ownership is handed over to the state or municipality.

Certainly, the Labour-left has almost invariably been seized by this view and in response to the Tories'

current preoccupation with privatization all that has emerged so far from that quarter is a rather foxed version of the old theme: "anything the Tories privatize we can renationalize"; a policy surely custom-made to fit the aspirations of the working class electorate as we move towards the twenty-first century. Alternative interpretations are, however, quite possible and recent achievements in the theory of political economy invite a leftward looking reformulation of interrelationships between distributive justice, the disposition of property rights and allocative efficiency. A reformulation which breaks decisively with ideas of essentially nineteenth century vintage; old wines may improve with maturity, old ideas do not.

Intellectual support for a traditional reading of Clause Four arrives from two uncorrelated directions: first a belief that by taking the instruments of production into common ownership (for which read nationalization) they can be managed in a way which more effectively satisfies the needs of the people (sometimes distinguished from their revealed preferences). Planned production is commended and contrasted adversely with the market allocation of resources. Indeed, markets become the villain of the piece, denounced for their capricious and anarchic nature along with their inevitable tendency to generate unjustifiable inequalities of power, wealth and income. Allocative efficiency through the planned utilization of nationally owned assets becomes a necessary part of socialism.

Hostility to the private ownership of the means of production derives, secondly, from a deeply entrenched rejection of the legitimacy of profits accruing to capital and thus the profit motive. The premise from which this hostility flows is largely Marxian in inspiration, that is to say, the labour theory of value. A doctrine which, though widely rejected outside Marxian circles, still grips the left and which finds the utility of commodities entirely attributable to the quantity of labour required to produce them. Apparently a very reasonable - certainly a seductive - idea.

A challenge to the balance of power

The New Political Economy, which would put a rather altered construction upon Clause Four, could establish the left as the champions of individual liberty and as the enemy of bureaucratic tyranny and sloth, while taking a radical stand in favour of equality of opportunity. These are ideas which seem likely to capture the enthusiasm of an increasingly educated electorate and in so doing undermine the stranglehold which the right currently enjoys. (and only sketch) what I have in mind:

● A radical approach to equality of opportunity - this would be one of the basic ethical precepts of the new socio-economic institutions. Individuals would in their major economic roles in life be afforded the maximum feasible equality of opportunity, so that any distributive inequalities which do emerge will reflect not initial alienable endowments but differences in skill, motivation and intensity of effort. There would, in addition, be welfare protection for those who are not able to benefit from these arrangements.

● The greatest feasible level of individual freedom compatible with equal freedom for all and equality of opportunity.

● In so far as there might be an inverse relationship between the dictates of the first two paragraphs and the maximization of the total product in society then any surrender of equalities of opportunity and freedom might follow something like Rawls' minimax principle. Inequalities will only be acceptable if they can be shown to benefit those less favoured in society. Inverse relationships of this type will, however, likely prove unimportant as the economic arrangements described below

will in all probability enhance motivational efficiencies.

● The recognition that each individual will possess interests in three fundamental socio-economic roles as a provider of labour, as a provider of capital and as a consumer. Structuring socio-economic institutions exclusively around the interests of one role type is unacceptable.

● In individuals should be afforded the maximum feasible equality of opportunity and maximum feasible choice in all three roles.

● Economic transactions should, unless there are good grounds for the contrary practice follow the dictates of competitive markets. The state should encourage competition and discourage monopolies of whatever sort.

● Health care and education - that is to say the basic provisions which enable individuals to avail themselves of the equal opportunities afforded in life should be distributed according to need. Experiments with vouchers etc., which may increase choice and decrease bureaucratic sloth should not be ruled out. The virtues of choice versus monopoly provision should resolve solely around technical efficiency in satisfying needs. Services (eg cleaning and so on) to any large monopoly producers may be cooperativized (see below).

● Equality of opportunity and the maximization of feasible choice as a consumer would be encouraged by (a) the stimulation of competitive product markets powerful anti-monopoly legislation; and (b) meaningful consumer representation on the highest decision making bodies of any socially owned monopolies.

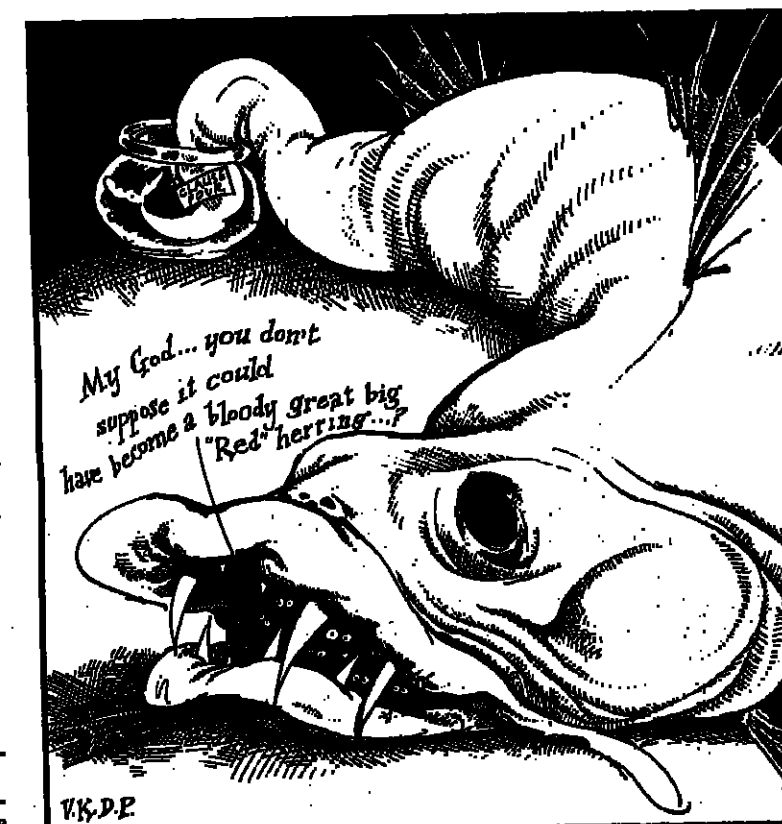
● Equality of opportunity and the maximization of feasible choice as a

Armed with the labour theory of value, Marx and those who choose to follow him, believe they are able to demonstrate that the putatively voluntary (Pareto efficient) market contract wherein capital hires labour, is systematically exploitative and unjust. Labour always works for longer hours than are necessary to produce the goods which its wages can command in the market place. Surplus labour time, as a consequence, accrues to capital. Furthermore, the capital labour contract sets the two protagonists irreconcilably against each other along class lines and institutionalizes a seismic diversity of interests whereby labour seeks, in the long run, to alter the disposition of property rights to its own advantage. Nationalization of the means of production, it is averred, will at least bring the surplus into the publicly administered domain where it can be used for the benefit of all, even if it does not lead to exchanges of commodities according to the labour time incorporated into them.

So nationalization becomes necessary (though not sufficient) for both the efficiency and justice of the socialist society. No wonder Clause Four has caused all the commotion it has. But what are we to make of all this in

the light of the twentieth century experience? Can we happily advocate nationalization, planning and the destruction of markets in the belief that this will cultivate economic efficiency and distributive justice?

Let us start with the labour theory of value, surplus labour time and interclass exploitation. The skein of the above arguments would be decisively severed if the labour theory of value were to fail. John Roemer's recent book, *The General Theory of Class and Exploitation* is crucial in this respect as he has, with his celebrated class exploitation correspondence principle, formally demonstrated that the labour theory of value only holds up under the most restrictive and unrealistic assumptions. There are, moreover, in the general (ie realistic) case no one to one correspondences between an individual's exploitation status (defined in terms of surplus labour time), his/her ownership of production goods and income. So even if we are inclined to endorse the labour theory of value (and there are other technical reasons for not doing so) the picture it portrays of class divisions within society (ie lines of exploitation) are hopelessly distorted and certainly not predictive of socio-economic change.



provider of labour would be encouraged by (a) participation at work on the basis of one person one vote (industrial democracy) (b) the state supporting job creation and new ventures where market forces are too sluggish (access to work), (c) the reduction in property rights of capital through the establishment of (and conversion of existing enterprises) to cooperatives and capital-labour partnerships.

For technical reasons complete cooperativization of the economy (where members of a cooperative both own and run their own enterprises, eg Mondragon type coops in Spain) is not likely - the concentration of risk is too high and the inflexibilities in tying capital and labour together in this way is ultimately inefficient. Capital-labour partnerships (which could be introduced by legislation and without the problem of compensation to equity owners) would allow control of enterprises to be shared in different proportions by capital and labour.

● Equality of opportunity and the maximization of feasible choice as a provider of capital would be encouraged by policies designed to maintain equality in the initial endowments of equity (which would, though, carry reduced property rights consonant with capital-labour partnerships and cooperatives). To this end (a) a capital receipts tax which would encourage the spread of equity and reduce the intergenerational accumulation of wealth, should be introduced; (b) all citizens would at the age of majority receive an endow-

ment of equity (unit trusts) which may initially be of limited transferability and redeemability.

These principles when matched with thorough going political democracy provide the basis of what I would like to term Radical Equitarian Democracy (which carries the convenient acronym RED). Furthermore, just as Marx was able to distinguish on the basis of the appropriate theory of distributive justice, (ie desert and needs-based) between socialism and the higher state of communism, we may, also postulate a "higher order" society where equality of opportunity is made to compensate for any inequalities in the initial endowment of "inalienable assets" (ie skills and ability, cf Roemer). This might, however, prove a mere flight of fancy for the social mechanisms for deciding a level of compensation, while maintaining the free society, are not at all clear.

So in a Radical Equitarian Society "common ownership" comes to mean equally distributed initial endowments of equity carrying weakened property rights commensurate with the increased rights going to Labour and "popular administration" becomes equated with producer democracy. Clause Four takes on a new appearance, an appearance which, in my view, is far more likely to commend itself to an increasingly educated electorate in the forthcoming "high-tech" society than some tired old recipe about nationalization. To some, of course, it might not spell socialism - but so what!

In addition to these rather technical considerations, many sociological factors have also combined to render the line between capital and labour profoundly unclear.

Prominent among these are the increasing complexities of management hierarchies, which lie, as it were, unambiguously between capital and labour. The fact also that labour, ever increasingly, has a stake in and interest in returns to capital, first through insurance and pension funds or profit sharing, second as a consequence of the desire to avoid the calculable risks in the pursuit of the socialist alternative and third as a result of significant probabilities of social

All of these considerations make it meaningless to postulate an unbridgeable gulf between capital and labour and to adumbrate theories of interclass conflict, socio-economic change and distributive justice articulated exclusively around this axis. This is not to say, of course, there are not vested interests in maintaining and reducing the inequalities in power, wealth and income; the problem of distributive justice remains but it must be addressed in a manner which betokens the individual's involvement in both capital and labour and, indeed, as a consumer. From the perspective of the new political economy it is not capital which is bad, but its inequitable distribution and the way in which it arrogates exclusive property rights unto itself.

Turning now to the issue of efficiency, I doubt if the arguments and accumulated evidence really need rehearsing. Alec Nove in *The Economics of Feasible Socialism* among many contemporary writers has theoretically and empirically disposed of the view which finds a connexion between the wholesale planning of nationally owned assets and their efficient use.

Soviet and East European experience is not encouraging even though the peculiar political and social circumstances of these countries make it difficult to draw definite conclusions. Nor is the experience deriving from various mutant versions of the socialist economy - such as Yugoslavia - likely to inspire unstinted enthusiasm.

Misfounded also is the wholesale admission of markets. Although, largely as a consequence of the pioneering work of Vaneek (*The General Theory of the Labour Managed Market Economy*) the idea of a socialist market economy has gained some acceptability, there is little sign on the serried ranks of the left of any serious attempt to incorporate market and plan into a theory of optimal resource allocation.

The fault with Clause Four resides in the fact that it attempts to solve the problem of distributive justice and economic efficiency in one fell swoop. These two objectives should be addressed separately - the case for nationalization resting entirely upon whether it can be proven to be more efficient.

Furthermore, the left has cast a blind eye to the repeated accusations coming from the right which detect an all too evident association between the bureaucratic control of the economy and a reduction in individual freedom and even tendencies to authoritarian politics. Nozick remains largely unanswered, Rawls unassimilated and the intellectual initiative on matters of personal choice and freedom has passed by default to the right. These accusations cannot be dismissed in a cavalier fashion; all the ethical precepts of socialism enjoin us to seek the society of individual freedom, reduced alienation and personal creativity. It is not at all clear how a traditional interpretation of Clause Four would contribute to these desirable objectives. And phrases like "the best obtainable system of popular administration and control" fail to encompass what we know about the sociology of bureaucratic behaviour unless unwarranted far-fetched assumptions are made about altruistic motivations. Socialist institutions should surely make space for the exercise of such motivations but equally surely they should not depend upon them for their proper functioning.

Therefore, neither on grounds of distributive justice nor on grounds of allocative efficiency do there seem to be good reasons to vest the property rights of full ownership with the state. We must, therefore, start over again and refurbish our interpretation of Clause Four.

The author is professor of sociology in the University of Surrey.

A middle class solution...

Cecilio Mar Molinero examines the social impact of the 1981 education cuts while, below, Michael Stephens emphasizes the need to plan for the future

As part of the "Great Debate" on the future of the universities the University Grants Committee asked for answers to 29 questions from institutions and individuals. Despite the fact that in recent times the social structure of the student population has received a great deal of attention, no questions were asked about how it had changed as a result of the cuts.

No questions were asked about the effects of the cuts on access to higher education for groups such as overseas students. No questions were asked about how the universities had rationed the places available. I felt that these were important questions, and so collected relevant information, put it together in the form of a paper, and submitted it as my personal contribution to the debate. This article summarizes some of the findings presented in that paper.

It is well known that as a direct result of the 1981 cuts, access to university education became more difficult. What is meant by "more difficult" depends on the year that is taken as a reference. Until 1978 the proportion of home applicants accepted had remained fairly stable, around 0.55. The first round of cuts was indirect, the number of places not being allowed to grow in line with the demand for them, and this proportion declined to 0.54 in 1979.

The removal of the "subsidy" for overseas students in 1980 had the paradoxical effect of increasing the number of university places available to home students, but because of a new large increase in the number of applications, the proportion of home students accepted decreased again.

Then, just after a year of expansion, the number of places was reduced in 1981. The definition that the Universities Central Council on Admissions uses for "home" and "overseas" stu-

dents changed in 1981, but if the old definition had been retained, the proportion of home applicants accepted would have been around 0.46 in 1982. If the proportion of home applicants accepted had remained at its 1978 level between 25,000 and 30,000, more home students would have been accepted by universities during this period. This has to be compared with the 72,600 students accepted in 1982.

How was this long series of cuts felt by applicants from different backgrounds? To answer this question I had to make use of the distribution of applicants and entrants by social class which has been published in its present form since 1977. I computed the proportion accepted for every social class in every year. The results can hardly be called surprising, applicants from classes 1 and 2 stood a better than average chance of being accepted all through the 1977-82 period, while applicants from the remaining social classes stood a worse than average chance of being accepted.

In 1977 the proportion of applicants accepted were 0.584, 0.549, 0.535, 0.508, 0.486, and 0.465 for classes 1, 2, 3N, 3M, 4, and 5 respectively. In relative terms, class 1 applicants stood a 7.7 per cent better than average chance of being accepted, while at the other extreme, class 5 applicants stood a 14.3 per cent worse than average chance of being accepted. By 1982 these proportions had changed to 0.511, 0.475, 0.439, 0.407, 0.385, and 0.379.

Although all social groups had suffered a worsening in their chances of acceptance, misery had not been equally distributed when seen in relative terms; in 1982 the proportion of class 1 applicants accepted was 10.1 per cent better than average, while the corresponding figure for class 5 applicants was 18.2 per cent worse than



average. Class differences seem to have been widened as a result of the cuts. The student population is now more middle class than it was before the cuts, and more different from the general 18-year-old population.

The changes that I have just described were too large and too systematic to have been the result of chance alone. They could have been due to changes in the qualifications offered by the different social groups, to social discrimination on the part of university selectors, or to the peculiarities of the admissions system. I examined each possibility in turn.

Statistics on the examination performance of the different social groups, based on a 10 per cent sample, have been published in its present form since 1980. Examination performance, as reported by UCCA, is based on the number of A level passes gained and counted in the scoring, not the number of subjects attempted; some applicants might have attempted more than three subjects and in this case only the best three are counted, others might have attempted three and passed only one or two in which case they are counted as one or two A levels and passed them.

I found that, for a given social group, the qualification structure changed very little during the years 1980, 1981, and 1982 as was to be

expected since most students apply to go to university before they take their examinations. On the other hand, when different social groups are compared it is clear that class 1 applicants are on average better qualified than class 2 applicants, and these in turn are better qualified than class 3 applicants and so on. At one extreme 70 per cent of all class 1 applicants achieve three A level passes while the equivalent figure for class 5 applicants is only 53 per cent.

But is this difference due to applicants from different backgrounds attempting a different number of A levels, or to different examination performance? To answer this question I computed, for every social group, the proportion of three A level applicants who achieved a particular point score. I found that class 1 applicants do better in their examinations than class 2 applicants, and so on. The differences between the extremes are, again, very striking: class 1 applicants are nearly twice more likely to obtain 15-13 points than class 5 applicants.

To find out if there is any evidence of social discrimination from the part of the universities I computed for every social group and every level of qualification the proportion of applicants accepted. Nothing that I found suggested that universities take social

class into account when selecting students. If one concentrates, for example, on those applicants who scored 12-9 points in three A levels the proportions in 1982 were 0.88, 0.84, 0.83, 0.87, 0.82, 0.82 for classes 1, 2, 3N, 3M, 4 and 5 respectively. This confirms the widespread feeling that departments have standard offers and exercise their flexibility by changing the level of the offer and the treatment of those applicants who have marginally failed to meet it.

When I compared the proportions for the years 1980, 1981, and 1982 I found that the proportion of applicants accepted had changed very little for the 15-11 points qualification group. Those applicants who scored 9-10 points at A level seem to have suffered a small reduction in their chances of acceptance as a result of the cuts.

There are, however, very large differences in the proportions accepted for the applicants who scored less than 9 points. In 1980 the proportion of applicants in the R-3 group who were accepted was 0.57, this dropped to 0.46 in 1981 probably because of a less sympathetic treatment of marginals and reduced use of the clearing house system. In 1982 when admissions procedures fully reflected the impact of the cuts this proportion dropped again to 0.35.

It seems that the qualification that is required to obtain a place at university is 9 points at A level, or CCC or equivalent, and students who achieve less than this see their chances of going to university greatly reduced.

The relative hardening of the qualifications required for entry into university has worked to the relative disadvantage of working-class students since, as it was mentioned before, they are on average less well qualified than middle-class students. By rationing by price universities are selecting by class.

The Robbins principle of availability of places for those who are qualified and willing to go to university has been recently reaffirmed and extended by the UCCA in its advice to the Secretary of State for Education. It is not clear how far the principle ever applied because no definition exists of what it is to be "qualified". Applicants who achieved less than 9 points at A level found it difficult to secure a university place even before the 1981 cuts.

In the case of overseas students it is not possible to conduct a study as comprehensive as the one done for home students: the data is not available. Overseas students have traditionally been less successful at securing university places than home students. The proportion of overseas applicants accepted was 0.24 in 1979 just before large fee increases took place.

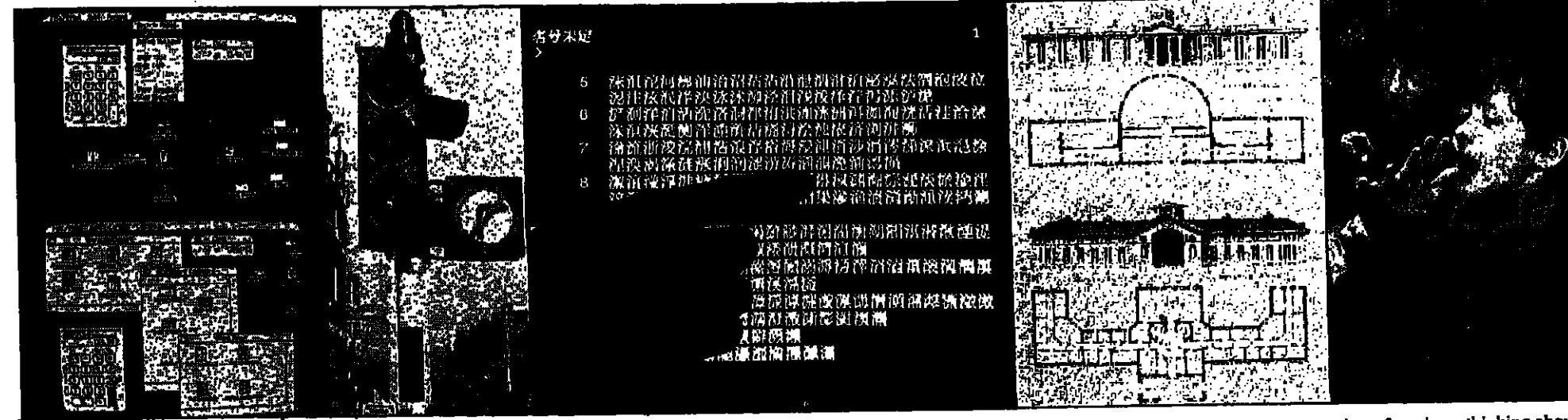
As from that moment they were excluded from the planning process, universities taking the sole responsibility for their acceptance. Universities do not seem to have treated overseas students as being in any sense different after the cuts, the proportion accepted increased only to 0.27 in 1980.

As a result of the 1981 cuts overseas applicants became very attractive as a source of independent finance, this is reflected in the fact that the proportion accepted increased first to 0.33 in 1981 and later to 0.345 in 1982. It seems that universities are prepared to accept overseas students provided that they are qualified. The Robbins principle applies only to them.

The author is professor of adult education and dean of the school of education in the University of Nottingham.

The author is lecturer in the department of accounting and management science in the University of Southampton.

Douglas McArthur makes a fresh case for the study of communications



Signs of the times

There has been rapid development in the study of communication during the last 20 years. The most obvious aspect has been study of the mass media, but one can also mention the analysis of communication in organizations, the concern with the improvement of official documents (for instance, the Plain English campaign), the study of doctor-patient relations, and the many studies of animal communication. In general linguistics there has been an increased interest in the study of language in use (pragmatics) as compared with the analysis of the structure of language.

In the field of foreign language teaching there has been a movement in favour of courses which will produce "communicative competence". It is possible that all these developments have a common theme: in the last 150 years there have been many technical developments which have affected the quality and quantity of human communications, and it is natural that generalizations and analysis should follow.

The introduction and development of communication studies has been an excellent thing (and it is a pity that many institutions of higher learning have been slow to recognize the subject). The notion of communication provides a useful perspective for looking at a vast range of situations and phenomena. For instance, it is fruitful to see language as just one means of communication alongside body language, the hand signs of the deaf, heraldry and naval flags, and so on. One can examine the structures of these different means of communication and their relative efficiency.

Again, sociologists have given a great deal of attention to the various functions of communication within any society. But if we are going to continue to think fruitfully, we must be prepared to change our perspective (or even multiply our perspectives) on occasion. An established perspective may become a prison. A change of perspective changes the relationships between the known, provides much new data, provides new questions and programmes for study, changes the emphases, and so on. Existing phenomena are not denied totally, but are reinterpreted.

For these reasons it seems valid to promote sign studies (sometimes called semiotics, or semiology). In contrast with communication studies, the study of signs has a very long history going back to the Greek philosophers' concern with the meaning of words, at least. Among scholars who have had a particular interest in signs in modern times we can mention Leibniz, the American philosophers C. S. Peirce and Charles Morris, and the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure.

We might consider the following as a working definition of the sign: a tangible form (seen or heard, measurable, etc.) associated in the mind of the user with another tangible form, or with an emotion, or an abstract idea, etc. (that is, the meaning). This gives us a starting point, a programme for looking at a range of phenomena. More precise, scientific definitions can come later, if required.

One line of inquiry is to consider the range of physical forms (or media) that might be used as signs. Stimuli in any sense mode may function as signs. The stimuli/forms may be visual - for instance, marks on paper or on other objects (writing, mathematical and other symbols, logos, etc.), colours (traffic lights, wiring-codes, etc.), gestures (for instance, sirens, vocal sounds (words and other vocal sounds). The stimuli may be tactile - for instance, the raised dots of Braille. In each case

there is the possibility of variation of form within the medium: a change of colour, of shape, of sound, etc. Human beings have used a vast range of physical forms as signs: consider the forms used as money in the past and present, or take the Chinese abacus and the Inca quipu (an accounting system using cords, knots and colour codings on the cords). In recent times we have seen punch cards, perforated and magnetic tapes, bar codes and floppy discs, and there are bound to be other forms in the future.

At this point there is a general distinction between biological signals and technological signs. Non-human animals use a vast range of signals for intra-species and inter-species communication. These signals may be smells, visual displays (even flashing lights), vibrations in water, sounds, physical contact, etc. These signals, which are associated with fundamental social interactions like aggression/non-aggression and mating, for instance, are instinctive in each species (or genetically-programmed in the current terminology). It is clear that human beings also use a range of biological signals (for instance, facial expressions, eye-movements, gestures, certain kinds of vocal sound) although they are greatly influenced by the conventions existing within any human community.

Another aspect of this question is the relationship between conceptual systems and the forms in which they are expressed. In the systematic nomenclatures of botany, zoology, and chemistry, and in artificial languages like Esperanto and Charles Bliss's semantography, there is a close relationship. In natural languages we find areas of systematic naming (for instance, declensions, conjugations, families of words like nation, national, nationally, nationalize, etc.) and many cases of irregularity of "inefficiency" (for instance, water, watery, aquatic, aquarium, aqueduct, hydraulic, etc.).

There are many kinds of word-play which depend on the possible relationships of form and meaning.

At this point it is relevant to say something about aesthetics. On the one hand, it is clear that sign-forms can have "memorable" (or "aesthetically stimulating") features - consider calligraphy, for instance, or the special choice and arrangement of speech sounds in poetry. On the other hand, if one considers "aesthetic constructions" like non-representational paintings or sculptures, or symphonic music, it is useful to think of them as signs with meanings? Certainly, it is normally hard to define their meanings. Are the changing moods of a Beethoven symphony a representation of the drama of human experience (in such terms)? These are difficult but very interesting questions, which can well be considered part of the programme of semiotics.

A major aspect of semiotics is the analysis of the functions of signs. It is probably in this respect that we most clearly see the difference between the two perspectives - communication studies, sign studies. In communication studies, sign and communication are seen as tightly linked, parts of one whole. In sign studies, we see communication as one possible function of signs - even if it is an extremely important function. At the same time, it must be realized that a given sign may well have different functions (or be used in different ways) on different occasions: someone may keep a diary as a private record, but it may be published at a later date to inform other persons. A poet may construct a work for his own pleasure, at first, or more than one function on a given occasion: in a seminar, for instance, a speaker may be clarifying his own ideas in the process of expression as much as communicating with the others present.

We can now consider some of the non-communicative functions of signs.

Basically the sign represents information, and with the sign information can be stored and retrieved, and processed in various ways to produce new information. Information can be accumulated through time: in the twentieth century we can benefit from the accumulated knowledge of many periods and many cultures. Information - as has often been said in recent years - gives a certain power or control. This was true even before contemporary technical inventions like the computer: in earlier times other means of recording information were of similar consequence. In the alphabet room of the British Museum there are a vast number of tablets in cuneiform script from the ancient Middle Eastern civilizations. The information they contain about property and the like was of great importance in the administration of large communities. But the recording of information may be carried on in much simpler ways, and still be of consequence: the mere noting of the day of the year and the attendant climatic conditions no doubt helped our ancestors' awareness of the pattern of the seasons and of the proper time for planting, hunting and so on.

Two other points are relevant. Signs (or tokens of various kinds) are often used in games. Signs are also used in magic, and note that in this case usually the precise form of the words, etc., is a key factor in success. (One can compare sacred signs in liturgies.)

A very important aspect of semiotics is the analysis of the relative efficiency of different kinds of signs for different purposes. Signs may be iconic or non-iconic, precise or vague, stable or ephemeral, linear or non-linear, and these variations can count in practice. For example, maps are generally better for representing the general geometry of countries than are words or mathematical symbols. Logic charts, graphs, and circuit diagrams likewise have the advantage of being able to display a range of related information (and relationships) simultaneously. Ordinary kinds of signs, such as logos and mathematics lend themselves well to purposes of argument and persuasion. Computer programs and musical notations have a linearity corresponding (more or less) to a sequence of events in time.

As there has been considerable discussion recently of the advantages of using computers and word processors for clarifying ideas, elaborating thought, and facilitating the final expression of ideas, it should be said that there may be many occasions when a much more spacious display of the various aspects of a subject, and of their relationships, helps efficiency - a piece of paper three feet by two feet or a blackboard gives more space than a small screen for the working out of logical relationships.

Where information is to be subjected to standard manipulations, or operations for restatement, synthesis, etc., as in mathematics, synthesis from questionnaires and opinion polls, monitoring of the performance of machines, and so on - the task can obviously be done quickly and accurately by machines. "Expert systems" will certainly be feasible and valuable in situations where the basic information and the operations to be carried out on the basic information are readily definable. In recent years psychologists have done a large amount of work on different media and the capacity of individuals to deal with information in these media.

A final matter: how does the subject of sign studies fit into the organization of our present institutions of higher education? In terms of traditional subject divisions, it is interdisciplinary (like communication studies). It has elements of traditional arts subjects like literature and philosophy, and like literature and philosophy, its elements appear to be once-and-for-ever-defined departments (the "strong honours schools") and artificial divisions like that between the arts and social sciences do not help the development of new subjects. Perhaps, also, there is too great a tendency here to define once and for all the academic appointments in the library. Ideas do not stay tidy in departments.

Students and others should be encouraged to be masters of the signs (or adapt the expression from Lewis Carroll) rather than letting themselves be mastered by the existing signs: existing signs may act as unfortunate limits to productive thinking. For example, the existence of the two words "animate" and "inanimate" might prejudice our

perception of, and our thinking about, a range of intermediate phenomena. According to the "Whorlian hypothesis", the language of a community not only represents the world view of that community, but conditions the world view of the individuals in the community.

Designation, orchestration

Signs may contribute to the refinement and elaboration of thought. The very existence of the sign can help us to keep a concept in focus. Having to choose a particular sign for expression or designation forces us to think more carefully. It is common for writers to revise the original expression of some idea, or the first draft of a work. No doubt this is due in part to the desire to find better expression for their thought, but it is also due to the fact that the thought is itself modified. It may well be that the use of signs encourages finer distinctions, more subtlety. It certainly makes possible more complexity and more elaboration. Consider, for instance, how limited we are when we try to do arithmetic mentally. Again, consider the relatively simple structure of most oral literature and, at the opposite extreme, the complex 20-line sentences of Proust. We use signs to construct models of the world, or models of parts of the world, and to construct fanciful worlds.

We also use signs to orchestrate activities. The composition of complex music, and the successful performance of complex music, would be impossible without some notation. We might compare choreography, screenplays, architectural drawings, military strategy, and the orchestration of flights to the moon.

It is probable that the very use of signs gives some sense of control or understanding. In the domain of iconic signs, we might consider Leonardo's remark that "Drawing is discovery" - in making a decision about which way to move the pencil next we look more carefully at, and understand better, the object before us.

Students and others should be encouraged to be masters of the signs (or adapt the expression from Lewis Carroll) rather than letting themselves be mastered by the existing signs: existing signs may act as unfortunate limits to productive thinking. For example, the existence of the two words "animate" and "inanimate" might prejudice our

The author is senior lecturer in French at the University of Manchester.

... or a middle path solution

One of our most eminent physicists stated in a lecture that I listened to that all major areas of development in his subject had already been opened up. From now on physics would merely be fulfilling. I was left with the impression that the creative period of physics was past and the field could be left to lesser talents. The age of the technician in physics had dawned.

My orator also stated that school-leavers of scientific talent should from now on be directed into biology. He reluctantly confirmed that chemistry might have major contributions to offer. As we aspiring academics all jealously guard the reputations of our various fields when speaking to the outside world it was one of the most startling lectures I have attended.

Whether "creative" physics is played out or not I am unable to say. It looks pretty fruitful to my layman's eye. What one physicist's view of his subject does remind us of is the crisis over the direction to be taken in higher education provision for the rest of the century. As the Government has decided that we are to have a higher education system which is funded modestly compared to other industrial societies (the model is Italy rather than Japan or America) it means that over-planning must be correct to a degree never achieved before.

With the small resources put into "university science" we must guarantee that we produce the graduates and postgraduates in those subjects that will be needed in 30 years' time. With Whitehall's jaw-breaking, post-graduate education programme has to be packed so tight that its products are in the correct areas to cover our needs in 2014. There seems little evidence of the Government's willingness to retain a physics PhD to doctoral level in bioscience.

Our needs, our resources, our international

Braithwaite discovered a new elementary particle that exists only in bureaucrats' brains!



competitors already have many years of generous funding of higher education. They have more adequate numbers of graduates in all fields. Unlike us they also have the will and vision to further educate redundant subject graduates.

If physics has gone off the boil our underfunded system would suggest a closing of university departments of physics. Those who produce the intellectual highliers should cloister first in such undergraduate and postgraduate studies. Obviously the Cavendish at Cambridge must remain at the forefront of physics. Those able to do so must go to the Cavendish. Those who cannot will be embedded into biotechnology or into

social work or into tourism and leisure studies. In 30 years time at least we can be certain the latter two areas of study will be needed; biotechnology will be more of a gamble.

As for the Government such precise planning cannot be achieved, and notably in the sciences. Even if physics looks a little unexciting now within the next 30 years some awkward planners will blow away any Whitehall planners' careful calculations by opening up a score of new areas which were utterly unforeseen by this generation of politicians. It is one of the glories of human affairs, and a matter of despair to every penny-pinching bureaucrat, that new knowledge appears to be unpredictable and virtually limitless.

A small miracle of British higher education, since the creation of the

Bernard Crick

Towards a comparative theory of conferences

"Fifty-odd men and women, of varying ages, who sat slumped in the raked rows of seats in the same lecture-room gathered together here, in the English Midlands, for their annual conference, and few of them were enjoying themselves. Dismay had been already plainly written on many faces when they assembled the previous evening for the traditional sherry reception. The accommodation was awful, new and decrepit, functional and uncomfortable; then the sherry was inferior; and the meal was overcooked 'tomato soup, roast beef and two vegetables, joint tart with custard'."

But the real source of the depression, as the conferees gathered for sherry, and squinted at the little white cardboard lapel badges... was the paucity and, it must be said, the generally undistinguished quality of their numbers... no one, indeed, whom it would be worth travelling ten miles to meet, let alone the hundreds that many had covered. But they were stuck with each other for three days.

Perhaps David Lodge has said it all in his recent novel *Small World*. I must say that, unlike most of the critics, I found his portrait of the international scene and his Catholic anti-sex humour very forced and I wasn't "laughing all through." But the Prologue that describes the Eng. Lit. conference at Rummidge is worth every penny (Secker & Warburg, £8.95). It is a classic of descriptive sociology as good as anything in Erving Goffman's *Asylums*, *Behavior in Public Places*, *Interaction Rituals or The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. But, like Goffman, Lodge has not explained it - why do people go to conferences (especially when they are usually just like that?) And nor has he sought to attribute any purpose to conferences, such as might justify attempting a Critical Approach to Conference Formations.

I would like to know more about their history. Meetings of learned societies plainly preceded university expansion, indeed existed in Victorian London, Manchester and Edinburgh even before university reform. I suppose that sometimes meetings of the Aristotelian Society or the Statistical Society may have come on for a second or third day, so visitors simply put up at a hotel or with friends. The typical modern or "Rummidge" type conference does seem a creature both of university expansion and the post-war obsession with providing halls of residence.

And though the Rummidge folk are perpetually disappointed at "the undistinguished quality" (the quality are all off at better, let-alone conferences elsewhere), yet they keep on coming. Perhaps they come for the reason that Major's *Mephistophiles* gives Foucault when asked why he damns souls: "Oh, for companionship in misery." But that may be too evaluative as answer, though one must never underestimate academic misanthropy. A more valuable descriptive answer may simply be: "I don't just mean the three bar sessions a day or reunions of old friends, but more profoundly the negation of loneliness, or if not loneliness then isolation."

The conference as an institution in this country is largely a product of the basic stupidity of post-war university policy in creating far too many institutions, and thus each (seeking to be universities) with too many small departments. In everything - like old-fashioned department stores.

No wonder if you work or live at least 50 miles from some other centre of light (and your spouse doesn't like the thought of you driving at night), are in a department of eight or nine,

and that you have either got on "quite well" or "rather badly" for the last ten years with the only other colleague more or less in your field (both of which are good reasons for long ago having ceased to talk "shop"), that then *dozen folk to go on pilgrimages* (And *palmeres* for to *seken strange strondes*). The dearth of Oxford bridge folk at Rummidge conferences confirms this hypothesis. Like the old ladies of Boston, "Why travel? We're here." They only attend spasmodically and selectively when conferences meet in Carmford (we're all in the hotel trade now), and freed at lunch and dinner.

Certainly "sociability" has been, in my long and now jaded experience, a far stronger motive than, say, "the advance of learning." Few words need be wasted on that hypothesis. To have a paper read to one is a bizarre way of imparting knowledge rather than reading it. Even as a young man I was famed for falling asleep in lectures, and even though on the committee of the British Association for American Studies, had to be asked to sit at the back and not to help to fill up seats at the front. The effect on the speaker could be cruel and even unfair. With my intelligence and energy I'd have risen very high if only, like the late Lord Butler, I hadn't had the physical impediment of never being able to keep a straight face.

Even as an undergraduate I've slept through a Popper lecture and, more recently, through much of George Steiner's play about Hitler (I enjoyed the book). Reading is much more efficient.

The trouble with conference papers is that only the old and established or the arrogant will present something provocative for discussion, open-ended or with a flavour of "work in progress for comment." What one usually gets is a kind of entirely footnoted defensive position.

There is one annual conference I enjoy: a Political Thought Conference, more like a floating club than a learned association because some of us find the ration of political thought in the Political Studies Conference a bit messy and the rest of it a bit much; so we set up an informal annual meeting at which people from philosophy, history and sociology come quite as much as politics. A nice, informal, serious and merry gathering, without sherry to civilise or chafe into politeness. In that we succeeded. But in trying to get people to make short presentations of common dilemmas (such we all discuss with our students, at one level), we failed: the drift back into the carefully prepared, read, specialist paper was insidious and unstoppable.

Americans offer panels. But then the panelists produce independent papers, not pleased to be a panelist but to show that they could have given a better main paper. And whereas British conferences are frankly about the need for social time, Americans are obsessive about filling every minute. Other motives begin to emerge. To give a paper is nearly as good as a publication, in a promotion portfolio. And people cannot get funded to attend the conference unless they are asked to give a paper, or be a panelist. Indeed, often seen resentment in the distinguished paper-giver, by mistake, there were more than a few of it "reaching." It is good to meet one's colleagues forward to the paperless conference. Or a table for them to be laid upon.

Birzeit University on the Israeli-occupied West Bank issued a statement on January 9 calling for a full investigation into the Israeli army shooting at the campus on November 21, in which one student was fatally wounded. Here ADAM ROBERTS examines the background to the shooting.

When the Israeli coalition government took office last September, there were hopes that it would do something to improve relations with the Palestinian universities in the Israeli-occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza. The years 1979 to 1984, when the Likud government had been in power, had been a time of continuous crisis between the universities and the Israeli military authorities. Even though the coalition government now in power contains the Likud as part of the coalition, there seemed some possibility of movement on the Israeli side so far as these universities were concerned.

In the event, the coalition, preoccupied above all with the parlous state of the Israeli economy and the difficulties of negotiating a way out of Lebanon, got off to a disastrous start with the universities. On November 21 troops opened fire on students demonstrating at Birzeit University, causing wounds to one student which proved fatal. This was the most serious incident yet in the long and tangled history of encounters between the Israeli army and Palestinian institutions of higher education.

That there would be trouble at Birzeit at that time could easily have been foreseen. It was inevitable that the highly politicized students of the institutions of higher education in the West Bank would demonstrate at the time of the Palestine National Council meeting in Jordan. Tyres were burnt and rocks thrown in time-honoured fashion. When Israeli soldiers tried to stop these activities, they ended up by opening fire "to extricate themselves". The victim, a fifth-year engineering student, died in a car en route to hospital, while it was being held up at an Israeli army roadblock.

The Israeli army role in these events is open to criticism. In the face of a demonstration as predictable as this one it seems odd to make troop deployments which are so inadequate as to supposedly necessitate shooting direct at demonstrators. Israeli troops had not previously killed student demonstrators: the worst previous incident, in which three students at Hebron were killed in July 1983, had been perpetrated by armed Israeli settlers acting without authority, not by army units.

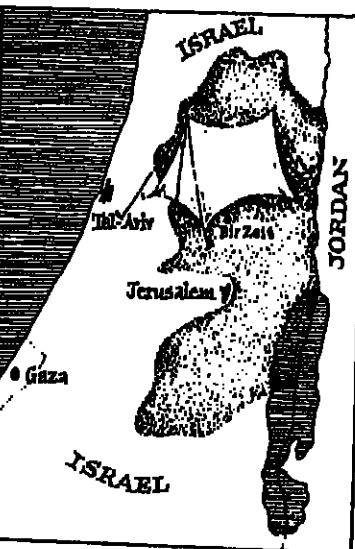
The shooting at Birzeit on November 21 reinforces the already strong international criticism of Israel for its harassment of Palestinian higher education. Some, but by no means all, of the criticism of Israel has been one-sided, reflecting a more general tendency to view Israel as a whipping-boy of the international community. There are plenty of universities elsewhere in the world where academic freedom or even the lives of demonstrators have also been under attack. Indeed, on the very day of the killing at Birzeit, Egyptian troops at Cairo's Al-Azhar University killed a student who had been taking part in an Islamic fundamentalist demonstration. There could be no clearer proof that Israel is far from being the only offender in these matters.

Israel deserves some credit for at least tolerating the growth of higher education in the West Bank and Gaza since it occupied these territories during the June 1967 war. All the initiatives came from the Palestinian side, and some were actively encouraged by Israel, but at the end of the day one must recognize that not every occupier of higher education such as has occurred in the West Bank and Gaza has been relatively modest beginnings. It has grown to the point where there are six major institutions of higher education, containing 14,000 students, out of an overall population in the occupied territories of around 1.25 million.

However, it is not enough for Israel to offer, as they frequently do, to take credit for creating this growth of higher education. They need also to play in the economic, intellectual, cultural and political development of the West Bank and Gaza.

From 1979 onwards relations between the Israelis and these universities have never been good, deteriorated rapidly. There were more than a dozen armed clashes of universities, for instance, during four days in January 1980, a new law was introduced, Military Order 854, which gave the military authorities powers over the universities. It led to a

A chance for change in Palestine?



storm of protest, both locally and internationally, and the October 1982 its operation was suspended "for a while".

In August 1982 foreign passport-holders teaching in universities were required to make an anti-PLO pledge: this too led to a storm of protest, and the measure was eventually withdrawn in late 1983. But many other problems - control of university funds, imposition of customs dues on educational materials, arrest and detention of students - have not been resolved and continue to cloud the picture of friction.

The Israeli authorities have sometimes given peculiar justifications for their actions. For example, in 1980 a leading agency distributing US funds for educational purposes in the area, AMIDEAST (American-Mideast Educational and Training Services), proposed giving financial support for English teaching at Al-Najah university in Nablus. This was turned down by the Israeli authorities with the written explanation: "There are enough

Israel's suspicious and often insensitive attitude to the development of higher education in the West Bank and Gaza derives in part from the undoubted political role that these universities play. Education and nationalism have long been intertwined in the Middle East. As long ago as 1937 the Peel Commission, in *Palestine Royal Commission Report*, made a note of the nationalist character of both Jewish and Arab education in Palestine. Today, the six largest institutions of higher education in the occupied territories are in the hands of Jewish, Arab and Palestinian nationalists. It is in town square, that the Palestinian collective identity is most likely to be seen, or a

The Israeli authorities for the most part not only resent the nationalism so evident in the universities, but consider it improper. In the Defence Ministry in Tel-Aviv I was shown posters picked up in raids on universities, conveying Palestinian nationalist images of clenched fists and the like. Why should the students stop demonstrating and throwing stones? They should stick to their studies.

However, to ask the Palestinian universities to forget about politics is like asking the Catholic Church to play a role in the occupied territories. The rapid expansion of higher education in the occupied territories is all along been seen by students and staff alike as part of a process of nation-building. Some may legitimately regret this state of affairs, especially if it means that political criteria enter into some academic decision-making, but it is simply unrealistic to suppose that the universities might bow out of

politics. What makes the political involvement of these universities an especially difficult issue for Israelis is the PLO's unique brand of nationalism. In formal terms at least, the PLO is not merely pro-Palestine but anti-Israel. The PLO's formal commitment to the destruction of the state of Israel, although heavily modified in many statements, is still there in the Palestinian National Covenant.

The Palestine Council meeting in Amman in November did not change this. The hard-line PLO position was echoed in a 1983 booklet by Birzeit students, which refers to Israel as "the enemy" and shows no readiness to recognize its existence. However, there are many universities who are prepared to accept the continued existence of Israel within its pre-1967 borders. A more open discussion of these matters within the universities is overdue.

Israel's policies towards these institutions since about 1979 have frequently been criticized as contrary to international law. Certainly there has been harassment going well beyond what might reasonably be justified on the grounds of public order or security. The most fundamental legal question is whether the net effect of all the Israeli actions has been to limit the inhabitants of the occupied territories to "education of an inferior standard" (as the 1966 Convention Against Discrimination in Education, a treaty to which Israel is a party. Certainly action is needed to prevent an outcome in which the Palestinian inhabitants of the occupied territories are left with no chance of anything better than an interrupted, harassed, and therefore in the end inferior system of higher education.

There have been some signs that the Israeli coalition government, which came into office in September, may tackle the question of the universities in a fashion very different from its Likud predecessor. Key individuals responsible for West Bank policy are less hawkish than their Likud coalition partners. Yitzhak Navon (deputy prime minister), Ezer Weizman (minister in the prime minister's office), and Yitzhak Rabin (defence minister), are more careful and reflective men than some of their immediate predecessors. They have a better understanding of, and even some sympathy for, the position of Palestinian moderates.

The Israeli coalition government has been much more cautious than Begin's or Shimon Peres's governments ever were so far as university closures are concerned. For example, after serious troubles at Hebron in October there was a closure for a few days, but this was a temporary measure. The November troubles at Birzeit were not followed by an official closure at all.

The chances of a new policy towards the Palestinian universities cannot be overestimated. Any indication of a new Israeli approach is welcomed by the Palestinian universities. Even if there are no policy changes at the moment, the fact that the army network who are in charge of the occupation on the ground. There are so many points of friction between the Israelis and the inhabitants that relations over the university issue can never be smooth.

The most serious obstacle of all to any new policy is the evident difficulty of getting any agreement within the Israeli coalition government: it is bound to be a slow process, and the universities will always have weaker claims to the cabinet's attention than other more immediate problems.

In 1985, therefore, there may be some amelioration of Israel's much-criticized harassment of the Palestinian universities, but this will probably be more on an *ad hoc* basis than as a result of a major government initiative. The best hope is simply of a return to the somewhat more stable relations between occupying power and indigenous universities that existed up to about 1979.

The author is reader in international relations at St Antony's College, Oxford. He is co-author of a report, *Academic Freedom Under Israeli Military Occupation*, published in the *Journal of the World University Service (UK)* and the *International Commission of Jurists*. Available from WUS (UK), 20 Compton Terrace, London N1 2UN. Price £2.95.

BOOKS

A world of goodies and baddies

by Tessa Blackstone

The British Council: the first fifty years by Frances Donaldson
Cape, £16.00
ISBN 0 224 02041 2

I should begin by declaring an interest. I was a member of the Central Policy Review Staff team which at the request of James Callaghan (who was then the Foreign Secretary) reviewed the United Kingdom's overseas representation. One of the institutions whose work was included in the review was the British Council. The author of *The British Council: the first fifty years* devotes two chapters to the review and draws special attention to its conclusions on the British Council in her preface. Clearly she did not like them. That is fair enough. However, her remarks about the review are so snide and patronising as well as being both inconsistent and ill informed that it raises doubts about the accuracy of information provided elsewhere in the book and about the author's judgement and objectivity.

A proper and worthwhile account of the history of an important national institution involves a careful evaluation of its weaknesses as well as its strengths, of its failures as well as its successes. The reader who hopes to find such an account will be disappointed. What we are treated to instead is an uncritical eulogy of the British Council and all its works. The book might have been written by a public relations agency employed to publicize the council's anniversary rather than by an independent commentator. Lady Donaldson to put it mildly has gone "over the top" in this book, which as a result lacks balance and objectivity and can make no claim to be analytical in its appraisal.

It was recently put to the current Director General of the British Council, Sir John Burch, by the presenter of *Island Discs* that not many people have heard of the British Council. In his shoes I would have denied that. However, he modestly replied that there was perhaps no reason why many of the general public should have heard of it. Perhaps not. Much of its work is done overseas. Those in the United Kingdom who use its services or contribute to its work are confined to a fairly small group of people involved in educational interchange of various kinds, educational aid, the arts and publishing. However, the longstanding war against the British Council waged by Beaverbrook must mean that at least many middle-aged and older people will know about the council even if the image they have of it is inaccurate. Beaverbrook regularly used his newspapers to attack it for being full of offets, second-rate poets.

Much of the work of the British Council today has little to do with poets and poetry whether effete and second-rate or not. As an agent of the Overseas Development Administration the council administers educational aid programmes in developing countries. However its traditional role in undertaking what has become known as cultural diplomacy is still under-



The British Council Library at Sana'a, Yemen Arab Republic

taken especially in Europe. The validity of the concept of cultural diplomacy is never questioned by Frances Donaldson. However, it is surely underlying doubts about its validity one of the most frequently reviewed bodies ever. The author meticulously describes every one of these largely government initiated inquiries, but does not reflect much on why it should have been subjected to all these examinations.

It is perhaps the British Council's greatest misfortune that its work in purveying British culture overseas has benefits which are far less tangible than the output of most other government agencies. It can be claimed that opportunities for foreigners to enjoy in their own countries good British theatre, ballet, music, painting or sculpture will improve Britain's image abroad and will thus contribute to more positive attitudes towards Britain in economic or political spheres. However this can never be proved. There are bound to be sceptics in any government and most governments find themselves seeking ways of saving public expenditure, so the council has become a target for reviews and cuts.

The early chapters of this book are devoted to a somewhat tedious account of the activities of various worthy figures in the Foreign Office and elsewhere who argued the case for setting up an organization to spread British culture abroad. Perhaps the most notable character in the early

history of the British Council was Lord Lloyd, and ex-Governor of Bombay and stalwart of the British Empire, who became chairman of the council between 1937 and 1941. With great vigour he fought off some of the early attacks on the council, including side-swipes from Beaverbrook, who is described by Lady Donaldson as "one of the few deliberately wicked men in British history". While Beaverbrook's attacks were monstrously unfair the author does have a tendency to see the world as peopled by "goodies" who regarded everything the council did as a crime to perfection and "baddies" who criticized it or questioned its objectives or how it operated. The Treasury follows Beaverbrook in the "baddy" stakes, with the Central Policy Review Staff (CPRS) next in line. Any individual or institution who questions the council's work is branded as a philistine. Even Hugh Gaitskill, not should have thought, one of the more philistine of our political leaders, is branded in this way.

The book is primarily an administrative history seen from the top down. Thus all the chairmen and directors general of the British Council as well as other leading figures in its work, are described in detail. Unfortunately many of them are duller figures than Lord Lloyd and the many potted biographies describing where they went to school and to university, their military service and decorations as well as their earlier careers which read like extracts from *Who's Who*, soon begin to pall. What is missing is an account of

how the work of the council developed over the years at the level of the representative abroad and his staff. Because of the book's failure to examine the delivery of the service at that level, where it really counts, much of the richness and colour of the council's history is lost.

There are interesting descriptions here and there such as the battle the British Council had with the Ministry of Information in the early part of the war, when the ministry made a takeover bid for its work. The Prime Minister became involved and in a note to the Foreign Secretary, Antony Eden, Churchill said "Many people consider that now we are at war and have a Ministry of Information, it is redundant. It is certainly very expensive... Full justification will have to be shown to the Cabinet by defining and explaining the reality of its work." But Eden wrote back defending it and it survived, as it has survived later takeover bids by government departments. In this chapter as elsewhere the official files have been thoroughly dredged for information. The research, we are told, was done by Harriet Harvey Wood, who has done a good job in obtaining material from various official sources.

Perhaps the most important of the many reviews of the British Council's work was that undertaken by the Earl of Drogheda in the early 1950s. It was his report which argued for a change of emphasis from cultural to educational work and from developed to less developed countries. In commenting

on it Lady Donaldson makes clear her disapproval of its proposals and criticizes Sir Paul Sinker who was responsible as Director General of the council for implementing the proposals at least in part, for philistinism. The author's views are fairly representative of the arts establishment in Britain as the CPRS discovered to its cost, when its report was published, which came to remarkably similar conclusions to the Drogheda Committee 25 years earlier. Drogheda ridiculed one of the prevailing ideas of the time that projecting British culture in Europe would act as a bulwark against Communism just as the CPRS questioned whether this projection would improve our trade with these countries, as some people claimed. On the work of the British Council in Europe the CPRS was in fact considerably less radical than Drogheda which suggested that it should be self-supporting within three years, on the grounds that European countries could pay for the services provided. It came to the same view as the CPRS about the value of educational aid in the third world, and suggested this should be increased. It favoured the closure of separate council representations in Europe and the appointment of cultural attaches in embassies instead, something which the CPRS also suggested should be examined country by country.

Turning finally to the CPRS report, with hindsight the option it put forward to abolish the British Council and incorporate its work into the Ministry of Overseas Development, the Department of Education and Science and the Arts Council was probably a mistake. It was unlikely that such a radical change would ever be acceptable and the outrage it caused detracted from calmer consideration of the alternative option, which I personally preferred at the time. This involved the rationalization of educational work in developing countries into a single agency, incorporating other smaller agencies such as the Inter-University Council into the council, changes in its priorities, including a greater emphasis on the administration of educational aid, and a reduction in its educational and cultural work in western Europe. Some of the recommendations the CPRS made have subsequently been implemented, though no recognition of that is given in this book. Instead the author prefers to attack the CPRS for how it went about its work, an attack which is contradicted by the evidence she herself later quotes from council representatives whose offices it visited, who described the CPRS team as courteous, thorough and to the point.

The British Council has many achievements, as well as some failings. It has undoubtedly provided valuable advice and support to many people in Britain and overseas in the arts and education. It has brought to countless more people pleasure through making available British culture and opportunities through the teaching of English. It deserves a better book than this to celebrate its first fifty years.

Tessa Blackstone is deputy education officer (resources) of the Inner London Education Authority.

Halewood revisited

Working for Ford, new edition by Huw Beynon
Penguin, £4.95
ISBN 0 14 022590 0

When *Working for Ford* first appeared in 1973 it attracted praise and criticism in roughly equal proportions. Its critics bemoaned the partisan nature of the book and the author's overdependence on shop steward interpretations of industrial relations at Ford's Halewood plant. Ford management appear to have felt the same, as the back of my earlier edition are printed the comments of a spokesman for the company who viewed the book as "extreme left-wing propaganda... we don't think it merits serious discus-

sion as it's not a serious attempt at sociology or education".

In the light of such comments, is a second edition justified? The answer is clearly yes, for, wars and all, the book offers student and layman alike a vivid picture of the dynamics of poor industrial relations, and the corresponding poverty of simplistic solutions. The particular nature of both the work process and management control (what Gramsci and others have termed "Fordism"), the way that control is challenged, the outcome of earlier skirmishes, the Mersey-side culture, and even the criteria on which managers are judged for promotion, are shown to have important bearing on the industrial relations climate at Halewood.

This second edition displays both strong similarities to, and important differences from the earlier version. In large part, the chapters of the first edition remain intact, though some tidying up has taken place. For exam-

ple, gone are the half-hearted attempts at some form of quantitative analysis of the responses of the 36 shop stewards and 43 other union members, which comprised Beynon's sample. In practice, this further reduces the already small contribution made by the latter group, and clarifies the focus as a shop steward account of industrial relations in the factory.

The main body of the book continues to rely on data collected in the late 1960s and early 1970s, involving steward accounts of their dealings with management, of their workforce, and the full-time union organization, and in particular their blow-by-blow descriptions of various disputes and strike activity which occurred at that time. These accounts exemplify many of the issues at the heart of industrial relations analysis over the past two decades - the fragmented nature of some of the industrial relations activity, the effects of low levels of trust in those relations and the gulf which can open

up between the shop stewards and the full-time union organization.

Two new chapters have been added which reflect important changes within Ford's and within British industrial relations generally, in the intervening decade between the first and second editions. One chapter concerns the spread of Ford's manufacturing (and component supply) base, first through the development of Ford Europe, and later the more global search for lower labour costs. Beynon describes the effect of this, on management's approach to labour relations, and the use of foreign plants both as a yardstick ("Halewood must become as efficient as Genk, or Saarlouis"), and increasingly - as particularly models such as the Escort came to be made on a variety of sites as a threat.

The impact of these manufacturing developments is seen to be further heightened by other recent events in the car industry, notably the widespread redundancies after 1979 and the

increased import penetration of Japanese cars. Indeed, the "After Japan" campaign at Ford's (so named, after a visit by the Ford European chief to Japan), is identified in the final chapter as further reinforcing management's attempts to reduce monning levels, increase labour flexibility and generally to augment the level of managerial prerogative. The picture, then, is one of continuing industrial relations turbulence, though Beynon argues that only by extending their involvement in strategic planning decisions and by greater coordination with counterpart unions abroad, will the unions have anything other than a minor impact on the final outcomes.

In sum, a second edition thoughtfully up-dated and worthy of a re-read.

Paul Blyton

Paul Blyton is lecturer in industrial relations at the University of Wales Institute of Science and Technology.

BOOKS

The top people

The English Aristocracy: a comparative synthesis
by M.L. Bush
Manchester University Press, £17.50
ISBN 0 7190 1081 0
Aristocratic Century: the peerage of
eighteenth-century England
by John Cannon
Cambridge University Press, £19.50
ISBN 0 521 25729 8

All at once the wealthy and the powerful are moving back to the centre of the historical stage, having been firmly crowded out for many years by poachers, paupers, and others of the down-trodden and deprived classes. It is as though the social conscience of Margaret Thatcher's Britain has turned itself out, making it respectable to treat the aristocrat to the same dispassionate appraisal and analysis as that formerly reserved for the artisan. Moreover, the post-imperial climate is not kind to concepts stressing uniquely English virtues or experiences, and re-integration into Europe extends to the presentation of English history as much as to the marketing of lamb.

Both these books, in their different

ways, look critically at the prevailing view that the story of the English aristocracy diverged sharply from that of the European mainstream at some point in the early modern period with allegedly beneficial constitutional, social, and economic results. Although the revisionist views which are offered, whether on the origins of parliamentary monarchy or of the industrial revolution, are not entirely in accord with each other they are refreshing and they command respect.

Dr Bush finds that the trouble with all previous studies is that they examine the aristocracy in depth over a short and circumscribed period, usually of no more than a century at a time, and in a narrowly insular context, producing a distorted and misleading impression that the English were unusual. When a historian has ventured to peer outside his chosen period at what went before or what happened after, the result has all too often been dubious comparisons "between what he knows well and what he knows only slightly." Dr Bush bravely offers to remedy the situation with a survey of the essential features of the aristocracy as a social order or estate of the realm throughout its lifespan, which is roughly from the Conquest to the mid-twentieth century. He is too modest to claim great familiarity with all of these nine centuries, but his knowledge is evenly spread as assiduous use of the secondary literature will allow. Distillation and compression on this heroic scale perhaps inevitably yields a rather dry and dense text unrelieved by diverting instances, since there is no space for individuals or oddities in such an account. Rather less inevitably there is no space for differences and divisions within the aristocratic order,

which is represented at all times as largely monolithic in its policies, ambitions, and attitudes, except that variations in wealth are acknowledged. Thus the Stuart attempt to establish royal absolutism is said to have been thwarted by the aristocracy, a simplification which possibly conflates the Civil War and the Glorious Revolution and seems to ignore the fact that for part of the time at least half the aristocracy were on the royal side. Again it is not quite inevitable that a long-sweep synthesis should place heavy emphasis on continuity, so that it sometimes seems that nothing much ever happened, until that is falling rents and land values at the end of the nineteenth century set off an irreversible decline in aristocratic wealth, power, and landed status.

A good deal is made of the survival of seigniorial rights until 1925, but since these had for several centuries been mainly quaint relics of a feudal past rather than of practical significance they provide slender grounds for equating the privileges and power of English and Continental aristocrats. Likewise the repeated references to the retention of the power of veto by the House of Lords until 1911 cannot conceal the fact that the political role of the peerage had undergone considerable changes in the previous two hundred and fifty years. Nevertheless, the enterprise broadly succeeds in showing that the English aristocracy had many similarities with its European brethren in privileges, composition, exclusiveness and mentality, and in arguing that the distinctive development of English constitutional monarchy owed nothing to the uniquely open and liberal character of the English aristocracy since such features are

merely the product of mistaken historical imagination. One is left doubting whether the much-stressed English noble privilege of graduating in three years instead of the normal four at Oxford was either of much account or typical of the European nobility, and still thinking that England did have a constitutional, political, legal, agricultural, and industrial development that was somewhat distinctive, however much one is grateful for a compact digest of the ways in which the English experience was part of a common European classist heritage.

Professor Cannon agrees that there was no bourgeois revolution of the seventeenth century, since the outcome was the profoundly aristocratic regime of the eighteenth century; and that there was no open aristocracy. But beyond that no two books with similar subjects could be more different. Flying in the face of Dr Bush's recipe, Professor Cannon has concentrated on a single century and has produced not only the more readable and enjoyable but also the more important work. In a sense he has set himself an easier task, for his aristocracy is confined to the peerage while Bush's takes in the landed gentry as well as the peers and baronets; the gentry can be defined more readily than they can be identified and counted, and there is no simple record of their comings and goings. To some the scope of the revised Wiles Lectures may appear narrow, but the gusto and wit with which they are carried along bring a coherence to the eighteenth century that it has not known since Lewis Namier's day, and impart a lightness of touch that carries a heavy load of facts and figures without strain.

Professor Cannon's secret weapon is

the simple counting heads in readily accessible primary sources; genealogies, peerages, the *Lords Journal*, and the like. The yield is hard quantitative evidence that is used to correct several earlier views. Namier is gently chided over the matter of a dozen "non-political" peers in receipt of secret service pensions, who turn out to have been highly political and loyal supporters of the crown party. Hollingsworth is mildly ridiculed for his "social revolution" around 1721 in the marriage habits of the peerage, when it emerges that peers went on marrying within their own order throughout the eighteenth century with unabated exclusiveness. And Perkin is treated to a rather rough ride with his concept of an "open dynamic aristocracy" as one of the keys to explaining England's industrial revolution, a feature of English society said to distinguish it from the rest of Europe where "the barriers between bourgeoisie and nobility were to all intents impenetrable."

Cannon's analysis shows that the peerage was far from open to recruitment from lowly origins. Virtually all the rather small number of eighteenth-century peerage creations were of people of aristocratic status connected by family to the existing peerage; the few exceptions being successful lawyers; even the apparently self-made banker Robert Smith, first Lord Carrington, is revealed as remarkably well connected to the peerage and baronetage through his uncle, brother, and wife. The notion that the possibility of climbing into aristocratic circles acted as an incentive to aspiring manufacturers thus disappears in a puff of smoke. Far from being an expression of social mobility the peerage was pretty much a closed shop that went on perpetually recycling members of a small group of families, and that remained substantially true until the 1880s.

A century of dominance by an increasingly exclusive aristocracy nevertheless witnessed stirring economic changes which were ultimately to transform the shape of society. It might be that the second happened in spite of the first, but the search for a causal connection is compulsive. What we are offered is the argument that aristocratic dominance created a period of stable and also unobtrusive, non-interventionist government that provided an ideal soil for germinating commercial and industrial enterprise. Perhaps; but it begs many questions about the nature of government intervention, and the characteristics of entrepreneurial seed. And all this seems to leave the gentry out of account, who figure in Bush's book as the avenue through which new wealth was recruited into the aristocracy. In spite of a certain ambiguity over the meaning of aristocracy, however, these books certainly expand our knowledge of the group, and give it a proper, but critical, precedence.

F. M. L. Thompson

F. M. L. Thompson is director of the Institute of Historical Research, University of London.



The Prince of Wales, represented in Berlin woolwork, 1845, an illustration from Rozsika Parker's *The Subversive Stitch: embroidery and the making of the feminine* (Women's Press £14.95 and £7.95).

Local issues

Elections, Politics and Society in Ireland 1832-1885
by K. Thompson
Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, £20.50
ISBN 0 19 822630 6

Dr Hoppen's objective is to overthrow an orthodoxy. Irish political history, in the period which he covers, is generally written as an account of a series of movements aimed at undoing or modifying the British regime. O'Connell's movement for the repeal of the Union in the 1830s and 40s; the Independent Irish party which sought reform of agrarian and ecclesiastical laws in the 50s; the Fenian movement for an Irish republic in the 60s; the Home Rule party in the 70s and 80s. Dr Hoppen argues, however, that the importance of these movements has been exaggerated. He found, when he examined the political working of individual constituencies, that they were engrossed in more immediate concerns than the national movements in which historians have concentrated. Irish politics were "often profoundly localist in both context and style."

Dr Hoppen supports this thesis with an enormous weight of evidence. He examines in fascinating detail the forces actually working on electors: landlords, priests, shopkeepers and publicans, kinship groups. He explores mob violence and electoral corruption. He discusses the characteristics of borough and county constituencies, showing that the former were even more swayed by local issues than the latter. In Galway borough, for instance, the prospect of a transatlantic steamship service for many years outweighed any national issue in the voters' minds.

In his effort to challenge a received view, Dr Hoppen perhaps bends the twig too far the other way. His chapter on political parties concentrates on the Irish wings of the British Conservative and Liberal parties. He does not discuss the purely Irish groupings - repealers, Home Rulers and so on. He points out that these parties have been well covered in recent monographs. That is true, but is not sufficient reason to omit them here. Candidates' success or failure in Irish elections did not just depend on the balance of landlord, clerical and other influences which Dr Hoppen so well describes. They depended also on their attitudes to all-Ireland issues, as a comparison of the election addresses of successful and unsuccessful candidates will show. By playing down wider considerations, Dr Hoppen gives the impression that

Irish politics were even more localized than they were. He has written an antithesis to the thesis offered by previous writers; a synthesis is yet to come.

However, the value of his work lies only partly in its theme. Quite as important is the sheer amount of information about nineteenth-century Ireland that he provides. He ranges far beyond purely electoral history. He covers agrarian secret societies, social relations in town and countryside, the development of the Irish economy. He has particularly perceptive things to say about changes in the Catholic Church. Every generalization is massively buttressed by evidence. A typical paragraph will consist of a statement, four or five meticulously referenced examples to illustrate the statement, and a further three or four examples in the footnotes to provide additional support. Dr Hoppen's bibliography is also prodigious. Forty-three pages long, it lists 34 unpublished theses, 185 manuscript collections, 150 printed parliamentary papers, and hundreds of other printed sources.

John Whyte

John Whyte is professor of government and political science at University College, Dublin.

BOOKS

Speaking in tongues

Strange Gifts? A guide to charismatic renewal
edited by David Martin and Peter Mullen
Blackwell, £15.00 and £5.95
ISBN 0 631 13357 7 and 13592 8

Since the 1960s many of the Christian churches have been visited and in some cases "overpowered" by what is variously described as the charismatic renewal or charismatic revival movement. Its essential ingredients are the emphasis it places on speaking in tongues (glossolalia), spiritual healing, exorcism, a theology of "break-through" whereby the Spirit already present in the believer from an earlier baptism becomes present in a new way giving "new" and powerful gifts to the individual, and its enthusiastic and spontaneous style of worship. In many respects it is similar to the Pentecostal movement which emerged in the United States in the early years of this century. But there are some notable differences, perhaps the most important being that the charismatic renewal movement, unlike the Pentecostal movement, has never sought to establish new churches but simply to transform the spirituality of the old ones.

The massive response to the charismatic renewal movement among Christians of all denominations in the West and throughout the third world seems to indicate that it is providing a form of spirituality neglected for too long by the mainstream Christian churches and one that transcends all barriers of race, colour and denomination. However this volume shows that this seemingly innocuous movement has attracted almost as many critics as it has sympathizers. It is in fact one of a very limited number of books not only to present but also to cover the views of opponents and supporters of the movement, and of some who hold the middle ground, but also to treat charismatic renewal in the context of both the developed and developing world and from the perspective of a number of different disciplines, theological, philosophical, sociological and historical.

The critics are cited, and that is not too strong a term, by what they see as the growing tendency towards authoritarianism in the movement. And this comes out in the contributions by David Martin and Peter Mullen among others, and is touched upon by "neutrals" for example, Paul Fiddes. This tendency manifests itself, we are told, in the selective reading and interpretation of scripture and the use made of it to silence "dissidents", and the exaggerated emphasis on the virtues of submission and docility which paves the way for the takeover of charismatic renewal groups by the authoritarian leader.

There is also harsh criticism of what

is considered to be the tactless, abrasive enthusiasm with which some charismatic attempt to provide spiritual healing for the sick, and the way in which they ride roughshod over ordinary, everyday holiness, turning spirituality into a matter of special gifts and miracles. The genuinely spiritual are reduced to those who can give spiritual healing, exorcize and speak in tongues, and so instead of a force for greater unity, the movement is seen as intolerant, and divisive.

As some of the critics view it then the renewal movement is a classic case of charisma turning graceless, as David Martin puts it, of God and the devil changing places and faces, of good switching with evil and all this "without an obvious change of vocabulary". Or in the words of Peter Mullen, what we are witnessing in certain instances at least is not the tongues of Pentecost but those of Babel, not renewal but a psychologically damaging cult of the irrational, not the gifts of the Spirit but jiggery-pokery.

Sympathizers like Martin Israel while pressing the case for a greater emphasis on spiritual healing and other spiritual gifts likewise point to some of the dangers - intolerance, division, authoritarianism - associated with charismatic renewal. Further he emphasizes the necessity of subjecting psychic impressions and intuitive judgments to critical intellectual analysis and the need to give renewal a strong social dimension using it as a means to confront the pressing problems of contemporary society. Looking at the issues from the perspective of the third world Dr W. Hollenweger discusses ways in which the movement might contribute to theological dialogue between different cultures and societies,

assuming perhaps too readily that third world Christianity is almost by definition charismatically oriented. Hollenweger's contributions need to be read alongside that of Rex Davis, "Living Liturgically," where it is shown that South American Pentecostalism can derive as much from the disciplined use of psalm and scripture in an English church as they do from singing in tongues and intense personal prayer groups.

Many of the contributors address themselves to the thorny question of glossolalia. Apart from one or two cases, it is not dismissed as mere gibberish and Bryan Davis on the basis of a development of Wittgenstein's "private language" argument concludes that it is possible, though only just, to see how it might be claimed that God "stands behind" the speaking in tongues. Others like Cyril Williams and Douglas Davies examining the phenomenon from a scriptural and sociological angle reach a similar conclusion.

This is not so much the guide it claims to be as a starting point for more systematic research into the emotive issues raised by this emotionally charged religion. Like a number of new religions and secular mysticisms of the 1960s it may be but one way of responding to what is perceived as an increasingly secular society and to a world in which the needs of persons are more central than ever before.

Peter B. Clarke

Peter Clarke is research fellow at the Centre for New Religious Movements at Kings College London.



Mourners at the funeral of Archbishop Romero in San Salvador, March 1980. From the collection of photographs *El Salvador* edited by Harry Mattison, Susan Meiselas and Fae Rubenstein and published by Writers and Readers at £16.95.

Living apart together

The New American Dilemma: liberal democracy and school desegregation
by Jennifer L. Hochschild
Yale University Press, £27.00 and £8.95
ISBN 0 300 03113 0 and 03114 9

In Europe we now hear little about race in America. Riots and protest are rare. We associate desegregation, the civil rights movement, and an increasingly assertive black population with another era, now several years past.

Yet the American dilemma is still very much there. Blacks remain largely segregated from whites; little progress has been made in closing the black/white income and unemployment gaps. And as the Jesse Jackson phenomenon showed, "American blacks feel isolated and often alienated from the mainstream of political life. Blacks are deeply antagonistic to the

Reagan administration and all it represents (in 1984 no less than 90 per cent voted Democratic, a 5 per cent increase in 1980).

Jennifer Hochschild's new book helps explain why. Segregation and discrimination remain even after two decades of civil rights law enforcement. Unlike most writers in this area who either tend towards an over-optimistic liberalism or simply engage in angry polemics, the author presents the facts in the context of the two schools of thought which dominate thinking on public policy and race in America. The "anomaly" thesis, associated most obviously with Gunnar Myrdal in his 1944 classic *An American Dilemma*, argues that the juxtaposition of democracy and liberalism with racism is essentially anomalous and that through incremental political and social change, racism will eventually be eradicated. This sanguine view contrasts with the "symbolic" thesis which sees racism as very much a part of American society, and which can even reinforce notions of individualism and democracy - at least among whites.

Noting that after twenty years of vigorous civil rights enforcement little progress has been achieved, Hochschild comes down firmly in support of the symbolic position. Incomplete

ism has failed both black and white communities, she argues. Radical change is, therefore, the only way forward. Her study concentrates on what is perhaps the most emotive of all racial controversies in the US - school segregation. Following what must be the most rigorous and extensive analysis of the vast literature on the subject, Hochschild comes to the stark conclusion that "slight or partial movements to desegregate schools do little good (and considerable harm) to minorities and to Anglos. Dramatic desegregation does a lot of good for minorities and - more controversial - for Anglos as well. More controversial, either sweeping change or no desegregation at all is better for virtually everyone than the partial change that minorities prefer to none, and resistant whites prefer to much."

Her conclusion does not lead logically to a policy of benign neglect because drastic desegregation is preferable to any other alternative. But radical change must follow certain guidelines: whole metropolitan areas must desegregate; concern over housing should take second place to education; priorities; racism within existing schools must be eradicated; and to implement plans, high quality national, local - and especially school - leaders are needed.

Miniature worlds

Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology
by John Heritage
Polity Press, £22.50 and £7.95
ISBN 0 7456 0060 3 and 0061 1

Harold Garfinkel, the American sociologist, coined the term ethnomethodology. He had studied tapes and transcripts of jurors' deliberations and noted how jury members in their discussions were concerned with the adequacy of descriptions, accounts and evidence. From this context he developed the notion of members' methods - that is, how individuals in specific settings make sense of their social relations. The interest in language, especially in forms of talk and features of conversational process is central to the ethnomethodological perspective.

Garfinkel traces his own interest in these matters back as far as 1945. His unpublished Harvard PhD thesis, "The Perception of the Other: a study in social order", was completed in 1952, under the supervision of Talcott Parsons. Although he had a high regard for Parsons's theory of action, describing his work as "awesome for the penetrating depth and unfailing precision of its practical sociological reasoning", Garfinkel's own position is distinctly different. The logical consequence of a systems theory which emphasized the normative constraints and modes of socialization in which the individual was embedded was, in Gar-

field's view, to treat the actor as a "judgmental dope". Garfinkel provides grounds for a voluntarist view of the actor. As John Heritage puts it, in this notable study: "It is the Parsonian disregard for the entire common-sense world in which ordinary actors choose courses of action on the basis of detailed practical considerations and judgments which are intelligible and accountable to others, which ultimately constitutes the central focus and point of departure for Garfinkel's treatment of the theory of action."

If reflexivity is built into social relations, then not only is voluntarism ensured within an orderly social world, it is an essential feature of the social construction of that order. Likewise, rationality becomes a central category in explaining conduct, in that common-sense accounts and explanations of actions are the methods by which actors render their own and other people's conduct intelligible. Garfinkel's interest in what many of us might regard as the small change of social life should not be dismissed as trivial any more than that of his great contemporary Erving Goffman (about whom one would have liked to read more in this volume). Heritage claims that the work of Garfinkel and other ethnomethodologists over the past twenty years has created the sociological equivalent of the microscope: "The use of this instrument is yielding glimpses of previously unimaginable levels of social organization in human conduct and it is clear that the major findings at the molecular and sub-molecular levels of social structure are there to be made." Moreover, the hope is that through the analysis of the structures of experience a more convincing appreciation of generalized social systems than Parsons had managed would be achieved.

Garfinkel's most well-known work is a collection of essays, *Studies in Ethnomethodology*, published in 1967 (recently reissued in paperback). However, since as early as 1968 he had recognized that the term ethnomethodology had turned into a shibboleth. For this approach to social analysis, which dealt with the mundane and common-sense aspects of social relations and the knowledge which people bring to and use in particular settings, became a site for cult-like activities. The term acquired a life of its own and Garfinkel seemed to be distancing himself from it.

It is to John Heritage's great credit that he has sifted the wheat from the chaff. He has given us a clear exposition of the intellectual antecedents of Garfinkel's work - notably Husserl, Schutz and Mannheim - and of its affinities with Wittgenstein and ordinary language philosophy. He has amply illustrated aspects of Garfinkel's own work and in particular has shown how controversial analysis, which is particularly indebted to the research of the late Harvey Sacks has become a prominent form of ethnomethodological work. The book is well organized and clearly written. If I have a reservation it is that the emphasis is too much on sympathetic exposition and not enough on critique. There are important and still controversial issues. Is ethnomethodology immediately subjective and solipsistic? Can we distinguish between descriptions and explanations? How can this kind of work be historically located if the promised institutional analysis is to be effective? Criticism advanced by writers such as John Goldthorpe, Alvin Gouldner and Ernest Gellner are not explored. Indeed even the ethical questions which must surely surround the bugging of "conversations," telephones and jury rooms are not taken up. The users of social microscopes should not themselves be immune to the processes of scrutiny.

John Eldridge

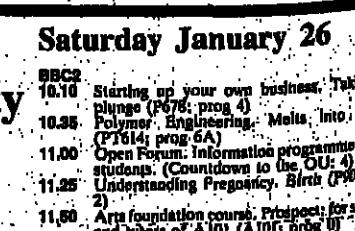
John Eldridge is professor of sociology at the University of Glasgow.

Social topography

Croom Helm has published at £16.95 *The Atlas of British Politics*, compiled by Robert Waller. Information from the 1981 Census and the June 1983 General Election is presented in over 100 national and regional maps. Social and economic topics covered include: occupational class, housing, tenure, educational qualifications, rate of car ownership and levels of unemployment. The format enables connections to be drawn between these patterns and the voting behaviour observed at the General Election.

David McKay

Dr McKay is senior lecturer in government at the University of Essex.



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Closing date February 22nd 1985.

02054

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Applications are invited for a post as Research Fellow, for three years from the earliest possible date. The person appointed will work on a D.H.S.S. funded project which will be concerned with direct care staff working in mental handicap.

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The project is based in the Health Services Research Unit and is part of a larger study of mental handicap services. Informal enquiries can be made to Dr J. H. Mayers, 66 Richmond Street, Dover, Kent, CT16 1JH.

Closing date for applications: 15 March 1985. (01031) 1

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Closing date for applications: 15 March 1985. (01031) 1

University of Kent

Health Services Research Unit

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Research and Studentships

OXFORD UNIVERSITY

Numerical Analysis Group

POSTDOCTORAL RESEARCH OFFICER

An applied mathematician or numerical analyst is required to take part in a three year research project funded by Rolls-Royce Ltd. The purpose of the project is to improve the numerical modelling of gas flow and combustion in a gas turbine, the first stage involving the application of multidisciplinary techniques. The person appointed should be a competent computer programmer and have research experience in either fluid dynamics or numerical analysis. He will work in an active group undertaking research in various aspects of computational fluid dynamics.

Salary will be on the University Research Assistant Scale A, in the range £7,190 to £11,615 (under review), depending on age, qualifications and experience. Applications, with the names of two referees should be sent to Dr D. F. Mayers, Oxford University Computing Laboratory, Numerical Analysis Group, 8-11 Keble Road, Oxford OX1 3QD (telephone Oxford 54141, ext 318) from whom further details may be obtained.

Closing date February 22nd 1985.

02054

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Overseas continued

Technical Education Posts Overseas

Kenya

Mombasa Polytechnic

1 - Lecturer in Production Engineering

Duties: To teach technology and production engineering to higher diploma level; to assist in the development of laboratories and workshops; to teach general engineering subjects on the higher diploma course.

Qualifications: A degree in Production/Mechanical Engineering with a bias in Metrology and Production Engineering; an engineering apprenticeship; four years' relevant postgraduate experience of which two should have been in FE teaching; MIPROE or MIMechE an advantage.

Reference: 84 K 51 TH

2 - Lecturer in Plant Engineering

Duties: To teach Plant and Works Service to higher diploma level; to assist in teaching general mechanical engineering subjects on the higher diploma course; to assist in the development of laboratories and workshops.

Qualifications: A degree specialising in Plant and Works Service (theory and practice); an engineering apprenticeship; four years' relevant postgraduate experience of which two should have been in FE teaching.

Reference: 84 K 52 TH